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VEDIC ATTITUDE TO SATĪ

BY

T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

Satī has been abolished. No text of Veda or Smṛti can now revive it. A discussion of Vedic texts is now only a matter of curiosity. When Satī, usually spelt Suttee, was abolished, there must have been discussion of its prevalence and the state of authority in regard to it, though I have had no access to it. In the 1890s there was a discussion raised by a friend, now no more, and it was stated by a keen Pandit that the mantra in the exequial rites indicated that sahamaraṇa was sanctioned. The friend and the late Srinivasa Sastriar maintained that the view was based on a misinterpretation of the mantra.

Somewhere, I am not able to trace it now, there is a discussion in nibandhas or Smṛtis about sahamaraṇa and anumaraṇa. Sahamaraṇa is cremation with the corpse of the husband and anumaraṇa is to die after him and be cremated separately. Kṣatriyas practise anumaraṇa. When a Kṣatriya falls in battle, the question of sahamaraṇa cannot arise. There can only be anumaraṇa which they effect by entering the fire with all ceremony of dress, etc. Sahamaraṇa can arise when the kṣatriya dies in bed. To Brahmins unless they had taken the role of a kṣatriya death can be only in bed and sahamaraṇa alone is open. Anumaraṇa is prohibited to the widow.

I was reminded of this question by a report in the press of a case of Satī in Jubbalpore. When a case of voluntary Satī occurs, no law can punish the death. I have seen cases of the wife languishing and dying within a few months of the husband's death. They are in effect cases of suicide and there is no possibility of punishing them.

The exequial rites have varied in content and the particular mantra in question is not in use in any case now. It is to be found in the Ṛgveda and in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka with a slight change. In the Āraṇyaka, sixth prapāṭhaka, the text runs thus:

Udīrṣva nāry abhi jīvalokam itāsum upaśeṣa ehi
Hastagrābhasya didhiṣos tvam etat patyur janitvam
abhisambabhūva |

The text in the Ṛgveda differs in two respects. The last word is in the second person—abhi sambabhūtha. For etat it reads idam. It seems the better reading at least in regard to the second person because it is addressed to the wife of the dead man. Wilson renders the meaning after Sāyaṇa:

> Rise, woman, (and go) to the world of living beings; this man near whom thou sleepest is lifeless; thou hast enjoyed this status of being wife to the husband, the suitor who took thee by the hand—

go should be *come*. There are two words, didhiṣu and pati; didhiṣu may mean pati or the second husband of a twice-married woman. Wilson's *suitor* stands for didhiṣu.

As Sāyaṇa comments slightly differently on the Ṛgvedic verse and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, it is best to set them out:

Ṛgveda:

> He nāri, mṛtasya patni, jīvalokam jīvānam putrpautrādīnām lokam sthānam gṛham abhilakṣya udīrṣva asmāt sthanāt uttiṣtha....gatāsum *apakrāntaprāṇam* etam patim upaśeṣe, tasya samīpe svapiṣi, tasmāt tvam ehi āgaccha, yasmāt tvam hastagrābham pāṇigrāham kurvataḥ didhiṣoḥ garbhasya nidhātuḥ tavāsya patyuḥ sambandhād āgatam idam janitvam sambabhūtha sambhūtāsi asusaraṇaniścayam akārṣīḥ, tasmād āgaccha.

It should be noted that the verb is in the perfect tense and didhiṣoḥ is rendered in the literal sense of garbhasya nidhātuḥ. The perfect tense and the second person justify the rendering that she had lived already as the wife of the dead husband. But Sāyaṇa's comment on the Āraṇyaka renders the passage differently. He writes:

> "He nāri tvam itāsum gataprāṇam etam patim upaśeṣe *upetya śayanam karoṣi*, Udīrṣva patisamīpād uttiṣṭha. Jīvalokam abhi jīvantam prāṇisamūham abhilakṣya ehi āgaccha. Hastagrābhasya pāṇigrāhavataḥ didhiṣoḥ *punarvivāhecchoḥ* patyuḥ etaj janitvam abhisambabhūva ābhimukhyena samyak prāpnuhi.

abhisambabhūva becomes imperative. It looks like an invitation to come back and marry one who is willing to be a second

husband. Perhaps the commentary on the Ṛgveda is to be more satisfactory. In the light of the previous mantra in the Āraṇyaka it is not invitation to a second marriage but only a reference to the wifehood that had lapsed. The previous verse makes that the more probable construction. That mantra is:

> Iyam nārī patilokam vṛṇānā nipdyata upa tvā martya pretam, Viśvam purāṇam anupālayantī tasyai prajām draviṇam ceha dhehi.

> This woman, desiring the husband's *loka*, is lying beside you, the departed man, observing all the ancient rules. Put in her charge in this world, her children and your wealth.

This suggests that she remains with the children and is not cremated unto death. There is a further inference to be mentioned later. That she survives is also indicated by the next three mantras which are really one mantra adapted to the three varṇas. I will cite only one of them and then indicate the change for the other two. For the Brahmin dead, the mantra is:

> Suvarṇam hastād ādadānā mṛtasya śriyai tejase balāya. Atraiva tvam *iha* vayam suśevā viśvā spṛdho abhimatīr jayema.

> He nāri, tvam śriyai sampadartham brāhmaṇe brāhmaṇajātyartham tejase kāntyartham balāya śarīrabalārtham mṛtasya puruṣasya hastād ādadānā saty atra loke tiṣṭha. Vayam api loke suśevāḥ sukham sevamānāḥ santaḥ spṛdho' smābhiḥ spardhamānā abhimatīḥ sarvān śatrūn jayema.

> The meaning is: Taking a suvarṇa from the hand of the dead, live in this world for increase of wealth for the Brāhmaṇajāti, for brightness and for strength. We also living happily in this world shall succeed against the enemies who contend with us.

For the kṣatriya *suvarṇam* is altered in *dhanuḥ*, *brāhmaṇe* becomes *kṣatrāya* and *tejase* becomes *ojase*. For the third varṇa *maṇim* takes the place of *suvarṇam*, *viśe* for *brāhmaṇe*, *puṣṭyai* for *tejase* and the rest of the mantra is the same. The mantra for the Kṣatriya alone occurs in the Ṛks and the Āraṇyaka by a sort of atideśa or analogy carved it out as three mantras.

The result of the chief verse with the mantra before and the three mantras after is that the wife of the dead man remains in this world with the children and the family wealth.

The Kalpa says that the wife is made to lie by the corpse by the previous mantra; she is raised by the brother-in-law or an old family servant taking her by the left hand, the appropriate mantra of the three castes recited and then the pyre is lighted. Wilson remarks in the footnote that till then no Satī would seem to have been practised. An alternative view may be that an earlier custom of Satī was superseded by a dramatised version of her being willing to die with him but the deceased permits her to remain to discharge his duties of protection to his family and the varṇa or group.

Far from any support to Satī the text with its Kalpa application seems to prohibit Satī. I think it is Āśvalāyana that says she is to be raised by the left hand.

This mantra can have application only when it is cremation of a man with a wife living. But in practice this mantra is not used now in any case. The omission seems to me to prove that it was felt to be an inconvenient mantra.

The smṛti texts which make the widow heir to husband's property and enjoins her keeping unsullied the bed of her lord favour the conclusion that she does not enter the funeral pyre. It cannot in any case be obligatory. Nobody can enjoin her to choose death against her will. The prohibition of anumaraṇa means that it is reprehensible as suicide. But to kṣatriya women it was permitted to escape the ravishment by the conqueror. If there is a smṛti favouring Satī, the question would arise whether Vedic liṅga is not superior to smṛti. Vedic liṅga has been used to justify marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter.

The three subsequent mantras applying to the three varṇas show that in all the Aryan varṇas the wife survives as head of the family. There is thus no warrant for Satī in the Vedas. Though the division of the Aryans into three groups is in the Ṛgveda itself, only the kṣatriya mantra "dhanur hastāt..." occurs in the Ṛgveda. Though naturally Sāyaṇa confines it to kṣatriyas as in the Āraṇyaka, does that Ṛk mantra suggest that all varṇas were then in the fighting ranks against their enemies? That is uncertain. One thing which I failed to say is that ādadānā becomes ādadānaḥ in Ṛgveda. The performer does it, not the wife, but the result is still the same

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BUILDING LAWS IN THE ARTHASASTRA*

BY

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It is significant that among the ancient Indian legal codes the *Arthaśāstra* is the only work which makes specific mention of the limitations that accompany the building of a house or any other edifice. The Dharmasūtras contain no rules on this subject, while in some of the later Smṛtis there do exist passages relating to this topic, but they are too hopelessly scanty to furnish us with any valuable information or to be of any particular credit to the respective authors. It is a mystery that the Smṛtis, acquainted well with the *Arthaśāstra* as they are, remain so very indifferent to the question of house-building, especially in view of the fact that this must always have been a frequent source of disagreement and friction amongst neighbours.

Admittedly the rules on this subject are more of customary regulations than civil laws proper, even if they do partake of the characteristics of the latter. And possibly that may explain their omission in the Smṛtis, whose authors may have intended to leave them entirely to the domain of Custom. Yet from Kauṭilya's point of view it is only proper that they should be included in the Civil Code, for, like other laws, they concern primarily an individual citizen who himself is supposed to bring an action, in case any of his neighbours erects a building in disregard of these rules and thereby does him wrong.

Unfortunately the section on the construction of houses in the *Arthaśāstra* is replete with otherwise unknown, vague or obsolete expressions. A full and proper understanding of these rules, therefore, is not quite possible at present. A tentative interpretation of Kauṭilya's views on the building of houses is put forward nevertheless in the following lines.

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*. Based on part of the author's unpublished thesis on Kauṭilyan law, approved by the University of Oxford for the degree of D. Phil.; read at the 14th session (1948) of the All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga.

It appears that when a house is built or an addition made to an old building, the corner posts of the site in question are connected with a sort of cord, which encloses the total area of the site available for construction and serves as a boundary line. The new building or other structural addition is then built wholly within the boundary line. But where there is no boundary line, that is, presumably when a building is to be erected on a new site or when there is some doubt as to the exact position of an old boundary line, a boundary line is laid at a distance of at least two *aratnis* or three *padas* from the neighbours' walls.[1] Similarly, conduits or pits for water discharged from the interior of a house are built at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *aratnis* or three *padas* from the neighbours' walls.[2] But a spot reserved for parking a vehicle or keeping quadrupeds, a fire-place, a stand for water-vessels, a mill or a husking mortar may be built at a distance of only one *aratni* or *pada*.[3]

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1. *AS.*, 3. 8. 3-6 (Jolly's edition). *Karṇakīla* is rather obscure. Meyer takes it to mean "pegs having ears (handles)". Ganapati Sastri explains it as *karṇeṣu koṭiṣu nikhātāḥ sthūṇāḥ*; and that is how I take it too. The fitting around a house is described here as *āyasa*, *i.e.*, 'made of metal', but perhaps any kind of enclosure would serve the purpose. Meyer says that *anugṛham* can also mean "according to the house that is to be built", but that is very unlikely in the present passage. *Parakuḍyād apakramya* as taken by Ganapati Sastri is more intelligible. Read *pāde bandham* instead of *deśabandham* as has been done by all except Jolly.

2. *AS.*, 3. 8. 10. *Praveśya* in the passage is rendered by Ganapati Sastri as *parakuḍyād apakramya svabhūmyantaḥ praveśitam*. I take it similarly, although the ambiguity of *praveśya* is still unresolved. It would not be surprising if *praveśya* is a corruption from something like *prativeśma*, 'in each house'. *Praghātam*, literally something cut or dug into, means perhaps a kind of pit, a receptacle. I read *prasravaṇapraghātam*, although *prasravaṇaprapātam*, as taken by Ganapati Sastri, would certainly be easier.

3. *AS.*, 3. 8. 12. *Cakricatuṣpadasthānam* is taken by Meyer as qualifying *agniṣṭham*: "a fire-place (oven) with a base four feet in circumference". To my mind, Meyer fails to visualise the construction of houses in Indian towns and villages, and consequently misunderstands the sentence. The passage does not seem to relate to a street with houses on both sides, since the installations mentioned here could hardly be provided in a street. It refers rather to a sort of square, with a common yard in the centre and with houses built around it. *Cakricatuṣpada* recurs in *AS.*, 365, 14 (Sastry's edn.);

It is regrettable that the injunctions bearing on the construction of privies, drains, wells and the like are somewhat vague; or rather, as appears more likely, the passage dealing with them is irremediably corrupt. The original text, however, may have run to the effect that a place for excrements, a drain and a well, all so necessary for a house, should not be built on another's or common ground, excepting such provisional items as a pit for the excrements of a woman during her ten days' confinement, a place for splitting firewood and a conduit for water drained off boiled rice, the latter two being necessary on ceremonial and festive occasions.[1]

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there Meyer translates it correctly. The Nayacandrikā on that passage runs *cakram asyāstīti cakrī śakaṭam, catuṣpadaṃ karabhabalīvardādayaḥ*. *Cakrin*, a cart, is also found in the *Gautamadharmasūtra*, 6. 24, 10. 33 etc., *Udañjarasthāna*, *rocanī* and *kuṭṭanī* are all rare terms, but their meaning is clear. *Udañcana* is known to mean a pail or bucket, but I cannot trace *udañjara*. See *Kātyāyana*, 752-4 and *Bṛhaspati*, 19. 24-7 for somewhat similar rules.

1. *AS.*, 3.8.7-9. For the present I translate the text as it stands in Shamasastry's and Jolly's editions, with the only deviation that I separate *avaskaram* from *bhramam*. Taken as a whole, Meyer's interpretation is not materially different. Shamasastry takes *sūtikākūpa* as synonymous with *sūtikāgāra* or *sūtikāgṛha* and consequently misses the real point. The passage, however, is undoubtedly corrupt, and some of the other possible interpretations are:

(i) 'There shall be (in a house) a place for excrements, a water-course and a well befitting the water-chamber, but no pit for (the excrements of) a confined woman which is used only for ten days.

(ii) Ganapati Sastri reads *avaskaraṃ bhramam udapānam vā na gṛhocitam anyatra, anyatra sūtikākūpād ā nirdaśāhād iti*: that is, 'a place for excrements, a drain and a well, which are necessary for a house, shall not be built elsewhere (lest they should cause obstruction to other people's houses), excepting a pit for a confined woman, which is used only for ten days. But the position of *na*, precludes this construction.

(iii) Meyer suggests that *gṛhocitam* in Ganapati Sastri's text might be changed into *gṛhocitād*, "a place for refuse, a spiral drain and a well shall not be built elsewhere than in a place which suits the house", etc.

(iv) Meyer further points out that *pāna* before *gṛhocitam* has possibly crept into the text as a repetition of the preceding *pānam*,

Provision is also made in the *Arthaśāstra* and some Smṛti-law that no building or structure should be permitted to interfere with the public right of way. According to Kauṭilya a house-owner is held guilty if any parts of his litter-pit, staircase, drain, ladder or privy cause obstruction or other annoyance to outsiders.[1]

With a view to allow a public path between rows of houses, the *Arthaśāstra* provides that between two buildings or any other projecting structures, facing each other, a space of one *kiṣku* or three *padas* should be left as a lane.[2] This is exactly what we find in Sirkap at Taxila and at Sisupalgarh in Orissa. But the eaves of these two may either be built

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and that the same might be true of *anyatra* which repeats itself in Ganapati Sastri's text. The original therefore might have been *avaskaram bhramam, udapānam gṛhocitam* (or *udapānam vā gṛhocitam*); *anyatra sūtikākūpād anirdaśāhād iti*; that is, "a place for refuse, a spiral drain and a well shall be built as they suit the houses, excepting" etc.

In spite of the alternatives mentioned above, the interpretation of this passage is not satisfactory. *Anyatra sūtikākūpād ānirdaśāhād iti*, of course, might be a later insertion in the text, there being no particular need of *iti* otherwise. But the main difficulties of interpretation still remain. Notice that, speaking of some of these and other constructions of a similar kind, *Nārada*, 11. 15, says that they shall not be allowed to obstruct a cross road, the sanctuary of a deity or a street. *Indhanāvaghātanakṛtam* is explained by Ganapati Sastri as *edhaḥkāṣṭhavidāraṇaprayuktaṃ vidhānam*. *Kṛtam* could perhaps be a corruption from *kūpam*, a pit for splitting firewood. *Ācāmodakamārga* may mean "a watercourse for rinsing the mouth" as taken by Jolly.

1. *AS.*, 3.8.24. Cp. *Nārada*, 11.15.6. There ought to be a stop after *nigrahe ca*. Meyer reads *avaskarabhogaiḥ*, "through the (wrong) use (*bhoga*) of sewers, staircase, (*sopāna*)" etc. *Bhoganigrahe* in the sentence is not quite clear. Meyer renders it as "and if they are prevented from using (these things)"; that, it seems, is not possible, for the question of permitting the use of structures which are not allowed to be built does not really arise. *Parasya bhūmyupabhogapratibandhe ca*, as explained by Ganapati Sastri, is quite feasible.

2. *AS.*, 3.8.14. Cp. *Vasiṣṭha*, 16-12. *Prākṣiptakayoḥ* could not mean 'adjoining', particularly in this sentence, as Ganapati Sastri understands.

apart, or allowed even to overlap; in the former case a minimum of four *aṅgulas* is left between them.[1]

Further, no doors or windows are allowed to be built facing those of an opposite house, unless they are separated from each other by a royal highway or road.[2]

It appears that at the time of repairs, presumably if an extra door be necessary, it is permitted to build a small side-door into the lane; but it is not to be so constructed as to constitute a public obstruction. Similarly, for admitting light into the house a small window may be built at a high level, but when the repairs are finished it must be covered.[3]

Care is also expected to be taken that a neighbour's house, and perhaps a common path, do not suffer damage on account of rain water rushing down from the roof of the opposite house. With this end in view, Kauṭilya seems to recommend that either the roof of a projecting verandah, built on the front, should be covered with mats, in order that the rain

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1. *AS.*, 3.8.15. *Tayoḥ* very likely refers to projecting sheds only, and not to the main building as well. The sentence is, however, obscure; for if the eaves could overlap each other, or join each other, it seems pointless to mention that they should have a space of four *aṅgulas* between them, unless we add like Ganapati Sastri that the roofs might overlap when the owners of the houses mutually agree to it.

2. *AS.*, 3.8.22-3. Cp. *Kātyāyana*, 753 and *Śukranīti*, 1.470. *Pratilomadvāravātāyana* could mean 'the doors and windows whose folds open into the street, and not into the house', as understood by Meyer, but even he seems to have subsequently given up his original rendering.

3. *AS.*, 3.8.16-8. *Khaṇḍaphullārtham* is explained by Ganapati Sastri as *sphuṭitasaṁskārārtham*. Meyer and Shamasastry take it to mean 'when the door is opened or for opening the door'. But Ganapati Sastri's explanation seems correct. *Khaṇḍa*, ruins, is quite normal; but *phulla* is not certain. Most likely it is a corruption from *phuṭṭa*. On plate 5 of Damodarpur copperplate inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 113-45) occurs the phrase *khaṇḍaphuṭṭaprati (saṃ)skā(raka)raṇāya*, 'for making repairs of whatever is broken or split (or whatever is broken into pieces)'. *Asampātam* can mean *asukarajanagatāgatam* as taken by Ganapati Sastri, but I take it in a different sense. Sentence 18 is omitted in some MSS, but it appears genuine. Shamasastry takes *avasite* to mean "obstructed". Meyer, on the other hand, translates "if there is nobody at home" and suggests reading *avāsite* or *anavasite*. But if No. 16 has been correctly interpreted, this one might be understood in continuation. Note that according to *Kātyāyana*, 753, drains, balconies, windows, etc., are not to be added to one's house after the house is once completed.

water slowly drips down, or a kind of parapet wall should be built at the edges of a roof, so that the water is collected on the roof and diverted to an opening on a harmless spot.[1]

Any damage caused to another person's wall with water, urine or faeces is legally punishable. And it is perhaps in order to avoid the same kind of damage that a drain is required to be kept open while it is raining.[2] For, if it is closed whilst it rains and released afterwards, it may drench any passers-by and may damage the opposite house or the common path.

It is evident that the rules reproduced above necessitate a fair amount of care and precaution on the part of the inhabitants of a locality. As an alternative, possibly to most of the rules, the author of the *Arthaśāstra* concedes that the house-owners may build their houses as they like, provided they do so by mutual consent: they are warned, however, to avoid anything that might be undesirable and unpleasant.[3]

The full significance of Kauṭilyan regulations can be realised only when the text of the *Arthaśāstra* becomes much clearer than it today is. This, however, should be ungrudgingly admitted: that the laws of the *Arthaśāstra* on housing questions are surprisingly progressive and enlightened for Kauṭilya's age. They correspond to the modern municipal building laws and are vaguely in the nature of house-planning. But it must be remembered that, whereas the modern house-planning is supposed to aim at the comfort and convenience of the members of the community, the primary object of the Kauṭilyan code is to effect a reduction in or removal of the causes that contribute to discord and friction amongst neighbours.

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1. *AS.*, 3.8.20-1. It is rather a difficult sentence to make out. Shamasastry reads *avamadbhaktim* instead of *avamarśabhittim*, and translates "neither shall the roof be such as will easily bend or break." Perhaps he understands *anamadbhaktim*. Meyer takes it to mean "so that the seams do not leak". Ganapati Sastri takes *vāṇalaṭī* as meaning a verandah, and that is the most satisfactory rendering even if it is not quite authenticated. I believe *āvāryabhāgam*, as taken by Ganapati Sastri, is preferable to Meyer's *āhāryabhogam* or any other variant, since it supplies at least an object to *kaṭapracchannam*. *Avamarśabhitti*, to my mind, is a kind of parapet wall.

2. *AS.*, 3.8.24-7. Cp. *Bṛhaspati*, 19.25 : *Kātyāyana*, 752. Also see *AS.*, 3.19.39 f.

3. *AS.*, 3.8.19.

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LIAISON BETWEEN EAST AND WEST*

BY

SRI PRAHLAD C. DIVANJI, RETD. JUDGE, *Bombay*.

I am much obliged to the General President of this session, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, for having invited me to preside over this section in the unavoidable absence on account of sudden and serious illness of the President-elect, Prof. Bagchi. I wish him a speedy restoration to health. Although I have accepted the invitation, as I look upon it as a great honour to be expected by one not belonging to the teaching profession, even though it be as an emergency measure, I feel very diffident whether I will be able to come up to the expectation which may be raised in your minds by my occupation of a chair that was occupied in the previous sessions by highly gifted men who had devoted their entire lives to the study of the subjects comprised in this group and distinguished themselves by doing considerable research work therein. When I reflect over my position I am reminded of the famous stanza in the Raghuvaṁśa:

क्व सूर्यप्रभवो वंशः क्व चाल्पविषया मतिः ।
तितीर्षुर्दुस्तरं मोहादुडुपेनास्मि सागरम् ॥

I have another reason for greater diffidence than many in a similar position would have, because what I have been able to write out has been done during the time I could get within the last three weeks that were at my disposal after the receipt of the invitation, while attending to other engagements, professional and otherwise. I however place before you, on counting upon your magnanimity and patience, whatever I have, for as Bhartṛhari has said:—

जगति विदितमेतद्दीयते विद्यमानं
न हि शशकविषाणं कोऽपि कस्मै ददाति ।

2. At the outset it is our melancholy duty to pay our humble tribute to the three great philosophical thinkers who have passed

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* Presidential Address, Religion and Philosophy Section, XVIth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lucknow, 1951.

away from our midst during the interval between the last and the present session of this Conference, namely Śrī Ramaṇa Maharṣi, Śrī Aurobindo and Prof. Hiriyanna. Although the first two did not move out of their places of retirement, they had, by their occult powers, been drawing to themselves all those men and women, not only residing in this country but also in distant countries situated in Europe and America, who had faith in the development of the latent powers of the human soul for the realisation of the true nature of the self by all and sundry and for the rendering of useful service to humanity by those who felt an urge for doing so. There were points of difference between their views and methods but here I draw your attention to the common point between them, namely that the primary object of every aspirant should be to realise the true nature of the self. I am not aware whether Prof. Hiriyanna had or had not been trying to realise the truth gathered from his study of the works on Indian philosophy but his greatness lay in powers of getting at the truth by rational thinking and placing before those interested in it through his publications the line of reasoning by which he had arrived at his conclusions on the subject-matters of his study and reflection. It was in recognition of the meritorious service that he had rendered to the cause of Indian philosophy that he had been once invited to preside over a session of the Indian Philosophical Congress and it was in recognition of his services to the Sanskrit literature in general that he had been elected to be the General President of this session of the All-India Oriental Conference. But we are unfortunately deprived of his wise guidance because he was snatched away from amongst us by that unseen power, from whose clutches not even the physical bodies of the most self-integrated personalities can escape, whether they are or are not prepared to submit to them. Having paid our reverential homage to the great Brahman which transcends this finite world of physical and metaphysical forms, which, however useful and lovable, are as transient objects as the others which we either hate or disregard, we pass on to the task before us, praying that its Parā-Śakti, mentioned in the text of the *Śvetāśvatara*

परास्य शक्तिर्विविधैव श्रूयते स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च ।

may kindly help each of the departed souls to realise the truth of his being as he knew it, as the result of his study, reflection

and personal effort to realise in the course of his sojourn on this physical plane.

3. Let us now look to another phase of this worldly phenomenon which has presented itself to our ken during the period of our survey. I will not dwell upon the portion of the world-picture which acquaints us with the nature of the causes to which the present unsettled state of our sense of values and our social activities can be attributed, for many abler persons than myself, having investigated them during the seven or eight years for which this unsatisfactory situation has been continuing, have suggested the remedies which they, in their wisdom, considered adequate for restoring an equilibrium. I will however draw your attention to the metamorphosis which has been gradually taking place in the thoughts and actions of our leaders as the result of the deliberations and concerted actions of the more vigorous nations of the western hemisphere, which, be it said to their credit, are as alive to the necessity of placing the affairs of the civilised world on a stable footing on making such organisational changes as the changed circumstances of the post-war period render necessary, as they are to the danger of the spread of communism in such parts of the world as are still not under the influence of the Kremlin. The first notable event, which has occurred as the result of their activities towards that consummation is that the United Nations have, through their organisation for making suitable changes in the Educational, Social and Cultural spheres, succinctly called the UNESCO, had, in June last, issued a questionnaire for eliciting the views of the organised bodies concerned with the teaching of philosophy in the member-countries, of which ours is one of the prominent ones, and sent copies thereof to the Secretary of the Indian Philosophical Congress, which is a registered body since the year of its Silver Jubilee, namely 1950. That body which till recently satisfied itself with a discussion of only such abstruse problems as did not touch either the lives of the masses around the assembled philosophers or even the personal lives of most of them, was put consequently to thinking about the present-day world-problems and to express views on such of the questions as they thought proper. I do not know what the other members, who may have been given an opportunity to do so, have written in their answers. I myself have at least drawn the attention of the Committee issuing the questionnaire to the

deplorable fact that there still exists a wide gulf of separation between the teachers of philosophy at the universities founded during the last nearly 90 years and those at the Pāṭhaśālās run on the traditional lines, and expressed my conviction that so long as the teachers of philosophy at both the sets of institutions remain either totally ignorant of each other's method of approach to the common problems of reality and individual consciousness and the nature of the relation between them and the subsidiary ones of metaphysics, psychology, epistemology, the means of and the fundamental laws of rational thinking etc., no co-ordination of efforts towards a mutual understanding between the votaries of the Western and the Ancient Indian systems of philosophical thought is possible, that though efforts towards acquainting the Western thinkers with the conclusions and lines of reasoning of the Ancient Indian thinkers are being made ever since the time of Warren Hastings, no one ever cared to acquaint the Pandits of the orthodox school with the conclusions and lines of reasoning of the Western thinkers, which is possible only when some standard works on Western philosophy are translated into Sanskrit by competent men. I have also drawn its attention to the fact that most of those who teach the Indian systems of philosophy at the universities depend for their knowledge of them on a few text books written recently in English as they have no access to the original sources thereof. I mention this here because, firstly, the Oriental Conference continues to take interest in Religion and Philosophy although the Philosophical Congress has been meeting and discussing philosophical problems separately for the last 25 years; secondly, it has been making some efforts at every session for bringing together the scholars trained on the old and the modern lines, and thirdly, if ever a bridge is likely to be built between the traditional and the Western lines of thought, the engineering skill for its design and construction will be supplied by this body, which alone can supply competent Sanskrit scholars for working in co-operation with some competent members of the Philosophical Congress. I understand that the Government of India is interested in comparative studies in the Indian and Western systems of thought and has selected a number of scholars for making contributions to a volume of such studies written in the English language. I am not aware whether the selection of scholars had been made by the Education department itself or in consultation with any one or more advisers and whether

that number includes some scholars having direct access to the original sources of knowledge of the systems of Indian Philosophy and their fountain sources, the Upaniṣads and the Epics, but I hear a distant murmur of discontent as to the personnel selected. I also learn that the Government at the Centre had recently convened a conference of scholars interested in philosophy getting a suitable memorandum drafted on its own behalf for being forwarded to the office of the UNESCO in connection with the questionnaire above referred to.

4. Allied to the above is another event of importance which had occurred at the Silver Jubilee Session of the said Congress at Calcutta last December and that was the presentation to Dr. Radhakrishnan, of a volume of studies in comparative philosophy, to which contributions had been made by a select group of the eminent philosophers of the whole world and which was edited by a distinguished editorial Board consisting of Dean Inge, Drs. Jacks and Burtt, Prof. Hiriyanna and Dr. Raju. It is an epoch-making work in which serious efforts have been made for a comparative estimate of the values of important concepts of the Eastern and Western systems of philosophical thought. Its presentation again was a rare honour done to that learned doctor in recognition of the very valuable work which he had done during the last few years by delivering lectures and writing books with a view to interpret the philosophical thoughts of the West and the East and the Eastern and Western religious institutions, and the complete satisfaction which he has been able to give to those concerned as the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford and as the President of the Executive Committee of the UNESCO. It is indeed a cause for satisfaction to all who are acquainted with the spiritual wealth embedded in our ancient scriptures that Dr. Radhakrishnan has been consistently impressing upon the minds of his readers and hearers, whenever he gets an opportunity to do so, that the new order which the statesmen of the Western countries have been trying to establish cannot be expected to inaugurate an era of enduring peace unless they digest and act upon the fundamental principles of moral and spiritual values embodied in the Upaniṣads, which had been evolved, not on making an empirical study of the conditions prevailing in any one age but on an intuitive knowledge of the nature of the world-forces

operating in peace and war times during countless ages, and just as Śrī Aurobindo was unique in his method of exposition of the hidden forces of nature operating at the present time on the different physical and metaphysical planes and evolving an easy method of bringing them under human control, Dr. Radhakrishnan is unique in his reading of the present world situation, in suggesting a remedy after thoroughly studying all the prevailing political and social ideologies and on getting at the essence of the religions and philosophies of the world and in placing in his own impressive style, the conclusions arrived at by him as to how they can be harmonised. Many people wondered when he was selected to fill up the post of India's Ambassador at the court of the Union of the Soviet Republics. I however believed that there was a definite purpose behind that selection and I would not be surprised if at the end of his term, an English or American firm of publishers announces the publication of a book composed by him on studying on the spot the doctrine of communism as seen in its actual operation in the conditions obtaining in the countries inhabited by men of diverse races and professing different religions. If the philosopher-diplomat is able to get sufficient opportunities to do that he will have made a solid contribution to the solution of the problem of establishing peaceful relation between the Western and Eastern blocs in the UNO and to that of chalking out a line on which the different elements in the population of the Indian Union can be brought together under one national frame-work without danger of an open conflict.

5. But the establishment of harmonious relations between the civilised portions of the Eastern and Western hemispheres is not a task which can be accomplished by the ideas and exertions of one individual representing one party, however great and good. Signs are not however wanting of an amount of goodwill in the Western countries. A great one, which is likely to have a lasting effect on the minds of the thinking men of both the hemispheres, is the inauguration of a movement of frequent meetings and exchange of views between the professors at the Indian and the Western universities. Thus, it was in the year 1949 that University of Hawaii in the U. S. A. had convened a conference of the teachers of philosophy in the East and the West, with substantial financial help from the Governments of the countries and some

philanthropists. The said University also took care to acquaint others interested in the movement by circulating extracts from some of the speeches made there. It was also in the same year that some of the other universities there had invited some Indian professors to lecture to their students on subjects connected with Indian philosophy for a period of nearly one year. Further, it has started the international journal of comparative philosophy called *Philosophy: East and West*, in the Editorial Board of which are included two of our members, Dr. P. T. Raju to represent Indian Philosophy and Dr. Malalasekhara to represent the philosophy of Ceylon. It aims at making available the philosophical ideas of the East and the West to each other. The result of these conferences is bound to be a re-estimation of man and his place in the universe, which will naturally be critical of both the Eastern and the Western conceptions. Already a critical type of humanism is on the horizon. The International Conference of Orientalists too is being held more frequently than it used to be and on both the occasions on which its sessions were held in recent years delegates from India were assisted by the Governments of India and some of the States with the wherewithals to meet the heavy expenses of trips to Europe by air. Several professors from Europe and America had also come here to attend the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Philosophical Congress last year and delivered speeches there and some one or two have also contributed articles to the special volume edited by the Congress on that occasion. Other learned men from America had also come here for other objects and visited some of the university centres. It is desirable that the authorities here should also invite professors from Russia who can deliver speeches and talk in English and arrange to send some from here who can make themselves understood there so that at least the intelligent persons in both the countries may meet on a common intellectual level and understand one another better. A delegation of some public men is already reported to have gone there.

6. Although such exchanges have that limited value, the ultimate objective to be kept in view is to create conditions which would put an end to the sense of estrangement that exists between the common masses in the countries in both the hemispheres. It is only when a common culture is evolved on the assimilation of the good points in the ideals of life of both

the sets of people and that culture is based on the fundamental, moral and spiritual principles above alluded to and made a fashion of the day in all the countries, as the western culture is to-day, that there can be said to have been established a new era of lasting peace. How that can be done is therefore the question at issue. In order to determine that we must first consider what is meant by "*Culture*" and what form it should have in order that it may be suitable for the purpose we have in view.*

7. Now "*Culture*" is a very hackneyed term used in a variety of senses. Etymologically it is a term derived from "*colo*" or "*cultum,*"—to till or worship. In the former sense it is used as the second member of such compound words as agriculture, sericulture, horticulture and so on, in each of which it is a process as applied to an inanimate object or insect. When used with reference to a human being it has the second sense and denotes a particular sort of refinement in the ideal of life and the adoption of a way of life calculated to create an impression on others that one has realised that ideal to perfection. That explains why there is a large variety of cultures on the face of this earth, for there can be an indefinite number of ideals of life and the pursuit thereof may take a variety of forms. Broadly speaking, however, there can be only two sorts of ideals, namely religious and secular. But since there are nine to eleven higher religions and inside each there are large numbers of sects and besides them there are innumerable lower religions, there is a large number of cultures even of the religious type. The one feature common to all of them however is that the adherents of all of them have been entertaining in their hearts a firm belief in the existence of a human soul different from the physical body, which survives what is called death, other than a mere consciousness arising accidentally by the conglomeration of the elements, and is responsible to a Being of a higher order for its actions done while in an embodied state. It is this sense

* It is gratifying to note that this very subject embodied in the title, "The Concept of Man and the Philosophy of Education in the East and West" was the subject of a symposium at a Conference held at Delhi under the auspices of the UNESCO and at the XXVIth session of the Indian Philosophical Congress at Poona in December 1951.

of responsibility, whenever and however required to be discharged, and the consciousness of the weaknesses inherent in the human flesh to a greater or less extent, that ensures the observance of certain rules of moral discipline which all religions prescribe. The reason why in some countries and in different ages in the same countries those rules are found to be observed with more or less rigour is that the prevalent public opinion has considerable influence on the minds of the majority of persons forming parts of particular social units, and that opinion changes with the declared views or habits of life of the dominant personalities of the respective ages. This is as much true of this age as it was when Vyāsa wrote that the essence of *Dharma* is concealed in a cave and therefore the right way of conduct is that by which the great men have gone. Europe had a culture of an essentially religious type till the movement of Protestantism commenced in the 16th century and the separation of the secular part of the lives of its adherents from the religious part thereof under the influence of the views of the freethinkers, based upon the knowledge derived from science, who came into prominence as the result of the limitation of the power of the clergy to matters relating to the conduct of the Protestants while attending the churches. They did deliver sermons based on the Bible but the lives of the people were regulated by the laws and public opinion based on the writings of the advocates of the utilitarian principles of morality. This freedom enabled the people of Europe to develop a national consciousness, to acquire control over the forces of nature with the knowledge derived from scientific investigations and to subdue and exercise control over the people of other countries by founding empires. Being the dominating personalities in the respective countries subject to their sway, they have also been able to set up a fashion for their secular culture in all the parts of the civilised world, with the result that it is the dominant culture everywhere at present.

8. But the thoughtful persons even in the Western countries are not slow to perceive the evil effects of the purely material outlook on life which forms the basis of their secular culture and are searching for a formula by which a reconciliation can be brought about between the material civilisation of the West and the religious civilisation of the East and the nations of the world can live side by side and continue to make

material progress without encroaching upon the rights of and molesting one another and without giving rise to occasional clashes between classes and nations. Of course wars are decided upon by the few statesmen who form the governing bodies in each country. But since they have to depend for conducting them on the sense of patriotism of the peoples whom they claim to represent, the latter are in a position to refuse to allow themselves to be worked up to a war-frenzy, and hence the attempts of the thoughtful amongst the peoples of different nationalities to devise a formula of the nature above-mentioned.

9. Although this problem is new to the Western hemisphere, whose civilisation cannot be deemed to be more than 2,600 years old, even if we take the present one to be a modified form of the earliest phase of the Greek civilisation, it is not totally new to us, Indians, whose present civilisation is undoubtedly a modified form of that which was current in the Vedic age, which has been estimated by the Oriental scholars even of the West as having been in existence between 4,500 and 1,500 B.C., *i.e.*, to say, 6,500 to 3,500 years ago. Our ancestors have preserved for us valuable documentary evidence showing that the question how to reconcile a life of activity with continued efforts for the achievement of the fourth aim of human endeavour, namely, freedom (*Mokṣa*), had presented itself to some of our early ancestors and that ruling kings like Janaka, Aśvapati Kekaya, Ajātaśatru and others had succeeded in solving it to such an extent as to be in a position to instruct others in the technique of doing so. The *Bhagavd Gītā*, a genuine part of the original *Bhārata Epic*, says that this art had originally been revealed by the Lord Prajāpati himself, the progenitor of the lines of royal sages, that the tradition about it was continued for a long time but that, as it had broken down, Śrī Kṛṣṇa had revived it by teaching the Karma-yoga doctrine, on which it had been based, to Arjuna. It cannot be gainsaid that the remedy for the reconciliation of the two, enjoyment of objects (*Bhoga*) and freedom (*Mokṣa*), as there recommended, was intended to be applied to the life of an individual while a remedy for the pursuit of the same two objects simultaneously is now to be devised for being applied to the lives of nations. Still India is a land which breeds saints in every age who can anticipate events and prepare the ground for a new age and the present is no exception to that rule.

10. It was more than half a century ago that the late Swami Vivekananda had conceived the idea of an assimilation of the Eastern and Western civilisations. He did not stop there but founded a new order of Sannyāsins, some of whom devoted their entire lives to the teaching of the philosophy of the East to the people of the Western hemisphere while living in those countries in the same manner as the Sannyāsins of the old order live here, while others dedicated their lives to such beneficent work in this country. The institution known as the Ramakrishna Mission founded by him still continues to do very useful work through selfless workers, not only in this country but also in England, France, United States etc. On the occasion of the Centenary Celebration of Sri Ramakrishna it brought out very well-written volumes on the different aspects of Indian Culture, contributions to which had been made by many eminent admirers of the late Swami. Very recently Swami Nikhilananda of this Mission had made a fresh retrospect of the life-work of his revered Parama Guru Ramakrishna holding him forth as the prophet of the New Age. These Sannyāsins are vivid examples of what Swami Vivekananda called the "Religion of the Vedānta". The missionaries of this order act upon the belief that the knowledge derived from the scriptures has itself a potency to enable man to realise the identity of the human soul in essence with the Supreme Soul, which is the gist of the teaching of the Vedāntas. Unlike the Sannyāsins of the old order they attach more value to the purity of the heart than to that of the body and consequently mix freely with the men and women of all the nations who are of their way of thinking.

11. Although the above belief proves to be true in the case of a few souls who are pure when they become manifest in this world in embodied forms, there is a large majority of souls who stand in need of some purificatory mental and even physical exercises before self-realisation dawns upon their hearts. As stated by Śrī Kṛṣṇa there are for their purification two kinds of disciplines known as the Jñāna-yoga and Karma-yoga. For the salvation of such aspirants of the middling and lower classes India had brought into the forefront during the last 40 years the two saints, Śrī Ramaṇa Maharṣi and Śrī Aurobindo, to whom we have paid our tribute at the commencement of this address. The former was a Jñāna-yogi, who had the firm conviction that the wisdom of ancient sages

embodied in the Vedānta is intended to be imparted to those who were worthy of it by a process of occult transmission which he had the power to do and once he was convinced that a person who approached him was fit for it he made no distinction of any kind. Various men and women from Europe and the U. S. A. used to come and stay at his Ashram for that purpose and used to be treated on the same level as the Hindus. So were the Parsees and Mussalmans who came there. Those non-Hindus too lived there in the same simple style as the Hindus and abstained from non-vegetarian food and intoxicating drinks. His Ashram was thus a practical school where people of different religions and brought up in different environments led a uniform simple life. A few miles off there is another Ashram, that of Śrī Aurobindo, where too people from far and near had been undergoing courses of Yogic discipline. Although he and the "Mother" remained at a distance from the majority of disciples and as amongst themselves too the observance of some class-distinction was visible, it too can be deemed to provide a model of the assimilation of the Eastern and Western or religious and secular cultures.

12. Besides these there are several other Ashrams in Southern and Northern India where persons of different religions and nationalities go and stay in a simple manner for their spiritual uplift. The one of the latter class which deserves special mention is that of Swami Sivanand in Rishikesh. He has founded there a "Divine Life Society" and a "Yoga Vedanta Forest University", where persons of all nationalities go and stay in a simple manner for learning the Vedānta philosophy or Yogic exercises of diverse sorts. Even those who go out of mere curiosity or for improving their health are welcomed there and given all possible assistance, provided of course they can adapt themselves to the spiritual environments of the Ashram. The two saints of Southern India are no more on this physical plane but the Ashrams founded by them on certain principles of a higher religion provided for in our scriptures for the beings of a higher order, are still being run by those who had the benefit of close personal contact with them and those who are so inclined do take the advantage derivable from them. The North Indian Saint is however still moving about on this plane giving guidance to his disciples and writing books after books, which the publica-

tion department of the Society has been circulating amongst those who, though interested in the movement, cannot go and stay for a sufficiently long time in the Society's premises.

13. Now, when I say that these saints have anticipated events and prepared the ground for the inauguration of a new era in the world, what I mean is only this that they have supplied a practical demonstration of the fact that just as Śrī Kṛṣṇa had with the support of the saints of his age evolved the doctrine of Karma-yoga or Pravṛtti-dharma in a form suitable to that age for the benefit of the masses, it is possible even in this age of science and the dominance of the Western mode of life to evolve a mode of life agreeable as well to those who are either born and bred up in the Western countries or who have for a long time been living in the Western style, as to those who are born and bred up as orthodox Hindus. Of course, each side must be prepared to make some sacrifice but that is a minor consideration and is easily acquiesced in in view of the expected spiritual benefit derived from personal contact with one who has by making a far greater sacrifice risen to the level at which preponderating value is no longer attachable to the rules of any social organisation and who had, by the observance of certain rules of conduct and by submitting voluntarily to a course of discipline, partly physical but substantially mental, attained perfect peace of mind born of the firm conviction, on the elimination of the tendency towards vacillation, that what in fact exists is only the One without a second, which has no form and no limb and is for ever immutable and that the evanascent forms of the sentient and insentient beings are real only for those who have not by self-effort (Puruṣārtha) been able to cast off the inherent weaknesses of the individual mind and for the purpose of social intercourse between individuals.

14. The above harmonious relations between the persons of diverse races brought up in diverse religious and cultural environments present only an ocular picture of the life led by the disciples at the Ashrams. They would not be sincere ones if they did not make efforts to cultivate the moral attributes which form the very basis of a spiritual life. The large majority of them in fact did so and the outward harmony was at least in the case of most of them an index to the cultivation by them in a fair measure of the five virtues which form the basis of the moral codes of the Hindu, Jain and

Buddhist religious systems, applicable in a rigorous manner to the recluses amongst their adherents and in modified forms to the householders. They are Ahiṁsā (non-injury), Satya (adherence to truth), Asteya (non-stealing), Brahmacarya (continence) and Aparigraha (non-acceptance and non-accumulation of possessions). Add to these the two other necessary concomitants of the life of a Sādhaka, namely, Śraddhā (faith in the method recommended by the Head of the Ashram) and Puruṣārtha (self-effort), and the fundamental qualifications of a Sādhaka are complete.

15. I am not unmindful of the fact that this ideal is not likely to be suitable in its entirety for adoption by the general mass of humanity. But I feel convinced that it can serve as an ideal to be aimed at but modified in practice according to the requirements of the diverse enviroments of the diverse nationalities, just as Śrī Kṛṣṇa did when he founded the Karma-yoga doctrine for his warlike devotees, and Mahavir and Lord Buddha did when they admitted into their respective Saṅgha the householders of the Vaiśya and Śūdra classes, most of whom never aspired to be admitted into their respective order of recluses. It requires some such widely-revered personality to do that with circumspection and foresight. Let us hope that the time is not far off when such a personality will come into the forefront at the propitious time for such a benevolent and bold step forward. In the meantime let us turn the searchlight inside our own house and take stock of the spade-work which we have been able to do between the 15th and this session of this Conference in order to prepare the ground for such a divine personality to commence his whirlwind activities for a suitable mental transformation and elevation to a higher level of the human mind as a whole. Sri Aurobindo had a great ambition to be able to do something of that sort for humanity with the help of a higher occult power than even the Vedic sages had acquired. Although he has passed away, he has left behind him an institution, where several men with high intellectual attainments have still been exerting themselves to be similarly qualified under his unseen guidance. If and when any outstanding personality emerges from that centre or any other and takes up the task of the re-organisation of the human society on moral and spiritual principles, all others acting on their individualistic initiatives will automatically recede into the background as the liberal politicians and Home Rule Leaguers

did when Mahatma Gandhi came into the open arena with his programme of civil disobedience which shook the very foundations of all social organisations and during a period of 25 years secured independent political control over this vast sub-continent except a few border regions. But till then we must continue to make such contributions as our learning and wisdom enable us to do. I have already referred to the contributions which have been made during the last few years by the collective efforts of the teachers of philosophy in the East and the West. I will now take note of the individual efforts in that direction. They fall into two classes, namely:—(A) Works of general or special study of any of our subjects, and (B) Critical Editions of ancient works which are likely to acquaint the readers with some special feature of our ancient culture and civilisation so far as our subjects are concerned. The number of works falling into these two groups, which have been published during the period above-mentioned, in spite of enormous rise in the cost of printing and publication in recent years, is so large that I had no other recourse but to make out a bibliographical list of them, arrange them in the said two groups and make out an Appendix mentioning them as so arranged. I regret that it was not possible for me to look into even superficially and add appreciative notes about all of them herein and even to make out an exhaustive list of all the publications of the period. However before I close my address I propose to make a few remarks in general terms as to the work done by certain institutions and individual scholars in this field.

16. Besides the B. O. R. I., Poona, there have sprung up numerous Oriental Research Institutes in the different regional divisions of Bhāratavarṣa during a period of nearly 30 years, all based more or less on the model of the Poona Institute, so far as their work in the literary field is concerned. The general feature of the model adopted is the foundation of an Oriental MSS. Library, a library of the standard printed works on Indological subjects and the inauguration of a series of publications bringing to light ancient works on literature philosophy, history, fine arts and the sciences. Although each of them has to its credit a number of publications of the kind for getting which prepared it has special facilities, the Oriental Institute at Baroda topped their list not only by the mere number of its publications but also by the rarity of most of its

publications, such as the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, *Liṅgānuśāsana*, *Vasantavilāsa*, *Prācīna-Gūrjara-Kāvyasaṁgraha*, *Kavīndrācārya-granthasūcī*, *Udayasundarī-kathā*, *Bhavisayatta-kahā*, *Mānava* and *Vārāha Gṛhyasūtras*, *Pañcapādikā*, *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī* and others. But even that Institute had not originally taken up the national work of preparing a critical edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* on the lines of that of the *Mahābhārata* by the parent Institute at Poona. Without mentioning the name of any particular later institute I had therefore remarked in a scheme for that purpose published in the Journal of the G. R. Society, Bombay, for October 1950, that the work not having been taken up by any one of the later Institutes I intended to do so under the auspices of the said society if I happened to get the necessary help. It was practically a challenge to the Oriental Institutes in the country other than that at Poona and I am glad to record here my satisfaction that the Baroda University has encouraged Dr. G. H. Bhatt, the Director of the Institute there, to take up the challenge and that he has been making good progress towards the implementation of the scheme. The four other institutions which have been rendering yeoman service in this field are the Venkatesvara Oriental Institute at Tirupati, the Manuscripts Library at Adyar, Madras, the young and vigourous Bharatīya Vidyā Bhavan of Bombay, and the still younger Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, which is now conducting the Journal of Oriental Research. The recent publications of all of them will be found noted in Group (B) of the Appendix.

17. As for the numerous individual scholars whose works are included in the said Appendix, I am very reluctant to mention any of them on making invidious distinctions, because each is an expert in his own subject and has been making the best use that can be made of the opportunities which present themselves to him; I however offer no excuse for singling out that young and promising scholar Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras, who, since the demise of the late Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri, has been shouldering the very heavy and extensive responsibility of preparing and publishing fascicules of the monumental New Catalogus Catalogorum which the Madras University has committed to his charge. It is highly creditable to him that even while doing that and efficiently discharging the duties of his office he has, off and on, been doing some other

important literary work such as the publication of the *Paryanta-pañcāśikā* appearing in the appended list, which is a rare work of the Pratyabhijñā school, on whose literature the number of scholars who, according to my knowledge, are working, is very few. The one who has been devoting to it the greatest amount of energy, of which he has, as it were, an inexhaustible store, is Dr. K. C. Pandey of Lucknow, two of whose voluminous works, *Bhāskarī Vol. II* and *Comparative Aesthetics*, appear in the adjoining list.

18. Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you very much for having patiently listened to this, which I fear, is rather a rambling talk on the subjects which were uppermost in my mind when I received the invitation to fill up the gap that had been occasioned by the unavoidable absence of your President-elect. At the end I would like to draw your attention to the fact that *Critical Editions of the Purāṇas*, which are a mine of information on diverse topics of historical and scientific interest, and their critical study, and a *History of Religion in India* and a *History of Philosophical Thought in India* written after making a thorough study of the Śruti, Smṛti, Itihāsa-Purāṇa and Tantra literatures are still waiting to be taken up by the research institutions and scholars. I now close this address with a benedictory stanza from one of my favourite works, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and a Śāntipāṭha from the *Kaṭha, Taittirīya and other Upaniṣads*:—

सर्वापदः सकलदुष्कृतदृष्टयश्च
गच्छन्तु वः शममनन्तसुखानि सम्यक् ।
आयान्तु नित्यमुदिता जनता भवन्तु
राष्ट्रे स्थिराश्च विलसन्तु सदैव लक्ष्म्यः ॥

ॐ सह नाववतु । सह नौ भुनक्तु । सह वीर्यं करवावहै ।
तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु मा विद्विषावहै ॥ ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SELECT WORKS ON RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY PUBLISHED DURING THE YEARS 1949-51.

(A) *Works of General or Special Study*

1. Readings from World Religions by S. G. Champion and Dorothy Short.
2. Origins of Religion by Lord Ragian.
3. Round the Year with World Religions by Royston Pyke.
4. Ethics of the Great Religions ,, ,,
5. Faiths of Many Lands ,, ,,
6. Religions of India by Sten Konow and Paul Tuxen.
7. Religion and Society, Second edition, by S. Radhakrishnan.
8. East and West in Religion ,, ,, ,,
9. India's Legacy: The World's Heritage by P. R. R. Punja, Mangalore.
10. Siddha Bhāratī, Siddhesvar Varma Comm. Volume, by Vishva Bandhu Shastri, Hoshiarpur.
11. Potdar Commemoration Volume, Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona.
12. Group Prejudices in India and their Remedies by M. B. Nanavati and C. N. Vakil, Bombay.

    (Nos. 10 & 11 contain several valuable articles, including my own, bearing on the subjects and No. 12 contains one by myself on "Religious Prejudices as a clog on National Unity").
13. Religion and Culture by C. Dowson.
14. Conscience and Society by R. West.
15. Ramakrishna, The Prophet of New India by Swami Nikhilananda.
16. The New Man, A Biblical Study of the Human Being of the New Age, by M. Nicoll.
17. Introduction to the Science of Mythology by C. G. Jung and C. Kerenyi.
18. Society and the Criminal by Sir Norwood East.
19. "Radhakrishnan", Comparative Studies by Select Philosophers of the world.

20. Silver Jubilee Volume of the Indian Philosophical Congress.
21. Road to Salvation by P. N. S. Iyer, Kalpathi, Palghat.
22. Primer of Indian Logic by Kuppuswami Sastri, K. S. R. I., Madras, 2nd Edn.
23. Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha by V. S. Abhyankar, B.O.R.I., Poona, 2nd Edn.
24. Perennial S ope of Philosophy by K. Jaspers.
25. Psychological Factors of Peace and War by the U. N. O.
26. Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Metaphysics by S. Bhaduri, Calcutta.
27. Inner Experience of a Psycho-analyst by T. R.ik.
28. The Mystery of Being, Vol. I, by G. Mercel.
29. Psycho-analysis and its Derivatives by H. Crichton-Miller.
30. The Wäy of Mysticism by J. James.
31. Haṭha-yoga by T. Bernard.
32. The Concept of Māyā by P. D. Devananda.
33. Psychology of Intelligence by Jean Piaget.
34. Somanath: The Shrine Eternal by K. M. Munshi, Bombay.
35. Tantras, Their Philosophy and Occult Secrets by D. N. Bose. Revised by H. Haldar, Calcutta.
36. Introduction to Tantrik Buddhism by S. B. Dasgupta, Calcutta.
37. Yoga: the Method of Re-integration by D. Danielcu.
38. Mystery of Dreams by W. O. Stevens.

(B) *Editions of Remarkable Ancient Works.*

39. Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, Rājadharma, Āpaddharma and Mokṣadharma, Pt. I, by S. K. Belvalkar, B.O.R.I., Poona,
40. Nyāyāvatāra-vārttika-vṛtti by D. Malvania, B. V. B., Bombay.
41. Jaimini-Mīmāṁsāsūtra-Pāṭha by Kevalananda Sarasvati, Wai, Satara.
42. Kāśyapa-Jñānakāṇḍa by Parthasarathi Bhattacharya.
43. Gautama Dharmasūtra Pariśiṣṭa by A. N. K. Aiyangar, Adyar, Madras.
44. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, Pt. II., by Raghu Vira, I.A.I.C., Nagpur.

45. Paryantapañcāśikā by V. Raghavan, Madras.
46. Paraśurāma Kalpasūtra, G. O. Series, Baroda.
47. Kṛtyakalpataru, Śuddhi and other Kāṇḍas, G. O. Series, Baroda.
48. Brahmasūtra-vṛtti of Annambhaṭṭa, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
49. Fifty Discourses on Dharma of Bhagavan Buddha by D. Kosambi.
50. Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa-carita, Parvans II-IV, by the J. A. Sabha, Bhavanagar.
51. Dvādaśāra Nayacakram of Kṣamaśramaṇa by C. G. Shah, Baroda.
52. Mahāvīra-kathā by G. G. Patil, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad.
53. Pratikramaṇasūtra-prabodha-ṭīkā, Vol. II, by D. T. Shah, J. S. V. Mandala, Bombay.
54. Bhāskarī, Vol. II, by K. C. Pandey, Lucknow.
55. Comparative Aesthetics—Indian, Vol. I, by K. C. Pandey, Lucknow.
56. Pañcapādikā of Padmapāda translated into English by D. Venkataramaiah, G. O. Series, Baroda.
57. Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayakaragupta of the Vikramaśila monastery by B. Bhattacharya, G. O. Series, Baroda.

A BANA CHIEFTAIN OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

BY

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Among the important feudatory dynasties that ruled over different parts of the Tamil country under the imperial Cōḷas, important mention may be made of the Bāṇas, a family of chieftains who ruled after the 10th century over Magadai maṇḍalam covered by parts of the South Arcot, Salem and North Arcot Districts.[1] The most distinguished among them was a Rājarājamagadai nāḍāḷvāṉ, a contemporary of the Cōḷa Emperor Kulōtunga III. He was usually known as *Magadēśan* (Lord of the Magadha country) and *Poṉparappiṉāṉ* on account of his having gilded the temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. In this paper an attempt is made to describe his relations with the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas.

In the early years of his reign he was a loyal feudatory of his suzerain overlord, and helped him in his war against the Pāṇḍyan king by serving as the Cōḷa general. If the contents of a Sanskrit inscription at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai may be believed the Bāṇa chieftain captured from the Pāṇḍyas six crowns. It says: "Oh! King of the Bāṇas! Previously five and now one (thus six) crowns did you capture in battle from the Pāṇḍya who was intolerant of the pride of the devas; of these, one you gave away to the Cōḷa king and now the rest have been offered to the great hill shrine of Aruṇācala; what is there to be given by you to the supplicant?[2] We are not concerned here with all the wars that the Bāṇa chieftain waged with the Pāṇḍyan king, but only with the one after which he is said to have given the Pāṇḍyan crown to the Cōḷa king. Kulōttunga III the overlord of the Bāṇa chieftain himself

1. For a connected history of the Bāṇas see my monograph on them published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXIX, parts i and ii.

2. पूर्वं पञ्चकमद्य चैकममरक्ष्मापालगर्वद्रुहः
पाण्ड्यान्(त्) संयति संहृतानि मकुटान्येतेषु बाणेश्वर ।
एकं चोलकृते वितीर्णमपराण्यद्यारुणाख्याय ते
शैलेन्द्राय समर्पितानि भवता किं वार्थिने दास्यते ॥

waged wars against the Pāṇḍyas. The first of them was in 1182 when he installed Vikrama Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍyan throne after driving Vīra Pāṇḍya into exile. The exiled ruler attempted to get back his power, but was defeated at Neṭṭūr after which he submitted to the Cōḷa emperor in an open durbar at Madurai in 1189. On the death of Vikrama Pāṇḍya in 1190 Jaṭāvarma Kulaśēkhara succeeded to the Pāṇḍyan throne, and a few years thereafter he became not only insubordinate to the Cōḷa king, but also hostile to him, as may be seen from his elaborate *praśastis*. Hence after his *vijayābhiṣeka* in Karuvūr, Kulōttunga started on an expedition again against the Madurai country and defeated the Pāṇḍyan ruler at Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḻikkōṭṭai with all his large army consisting of the Maṟavas and the Eḻagappaḍai. Then when Kulaśēkhara fled into the forests Kulōttunga marched into Madurai, demolished the Pāṇḍyan coronation-hall in the palace, and sowed castor seeds in the place. To commemorate his victory he took the title of *Sōḷa-Pāṇḍya*, performed his *vīrābhiṣeka* and planted a pillar of victory.[3] Since by that time Kulōttunga III had made himself the lord of the three kingdoms, Cōḷa, Cēra and Pāṇḍya, he called himself *Tribhuvanavīra* also.[4] This final Cōḷa conquest of Madurai must have taken place just before the twenty-fourth year of Kulōttunga III, the inscription which mentions him with the above title being dated in that year (1202 A.D.).

In his conquest of the Pāṇḍyan country Kulōttunga III was ably helped by the Bāṇa chieftain about whom this paper deals; and hence in recognition of his services the Cōḷa king gave him the name *Pāṇḍya*, and crowned him as the ruler of the conquered country.[5] This incident is further supported by an account we have of the Bāṇa chieftain. He had a court minstrel whom he patronised much. One night he went to

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3. See *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, Nos. 166, 169, 176 and 178.

4. 554 of 1904.

5. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 163.

பாண்டியனை பாண்டி வமென்றும் பேர் மா(றி) வர செடும்
படைத்.... ர்நவர்
கெட மதுரை கொண்ட தோள் வலிப...பானனை
பாண்டிய னென்று பரும[ணி]ப் பட்டங் கட்டிச் சூட்டி
வெஞ்சிலை.

the minstrel's house and tapped at its front door; and when accosted as to who he was, without giving out his own name, he gave out some other name. But the minstrel who was able to recognise him by his voice pleased his master saying that he was his patron.[6] From the above references it is possible to infer that the Bāṇa chieftain helped Kulōttunga III in his successful war against the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara and in recognition of that he was honoured by his master by placing the Pāṇḍyan crown over his head. Subsequently he must have returned the crown to the Chōḷa king who on submission of the defeated Pāṇḍyan king, gave it back to him. What is said in the Sanskrit inscription at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai above mentioned is apparently a reference to this incident.

It is interesting to note that a number of other inscriptions also mention the Bāṇa chieftain as having defeated the Pāṇḍyan king and struck terror in his mind. One of them says that when *Magadar Kōmaṉ* got angry the Pāṇḍya king was driven out of his kingdom. Another mentions some statues presented to the Pāṇḍya by the king of Ceylon which the Māgadaṉ wanted to be handed over to him with the threat that if it was not done so immediately the Cōḷa monarch would order his head to be crushed under the feet of elephants. A third one refers to the deputation of the Bāṇa chieftain to the Pāṇḍyaṉ ruler from the Cōḷa court for the collection of tribute from him and his fear on that account. A fourth inscription says that the Pāṇḍyas were afraid of the very name Bāṇa. A fifth says that the prestige gained by the Pāṇḍya by inscribing the fish emblem on the Meru, defeating the sea and chaining the clouds were all lost on account of his defeat at the hands of Magadēśan. A still another inscription mentions the shame of the Pāṇḍya, who, though worshipped by others, was then prostrating himself at the feet of the Bāṇa Magadēśan.[7]

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6. பாண்டியனைப் பேர் மாற்றிப் பாணற் கரசளித்த
ஆண்டகை யென் றுன்னை யறியேனோ—மூண்டெழுந்த
கார் மாற்றுஞ் செங்கைக் கடகரி வாணனுவனது
பேர் மாற்று வதரிதோ பேசு. (*Peruntogai*, 1183)

7. வீரர் வடிம்பலம்ப நின்றான் மலரடிகள்
சோரி வடிம்பலம்பச் சூழ்ந்தே- வீரதரன்
வித்தா சனிகொண்கன் வெல்வாணன் மாகதர்கோன்
செந்தா மரைக்கட் சிவப்ப

But such a loyal feudatory appears to have turned against his master Kulōttunga III, soon after the conquest of Madurai by the latter. Probably he took advantage of the growing power and influence of the Kāḍavarāyas and himself to defy imperial authority. Hence to counteract his new policy some eleven chieftains formed a confederacy among themselves in 1205 under the leadership of a Cēdirāyan. They decided to refrain from having any communication with Magadaināḍaḷvān *alias* Vāṇa Kōvaraiyan and Kulōttunga Cōḷa Vāṇa Kōvaraiyan either by sending men or letters to them. They further decided that if the two Bāṇa chieftains and the Kāḍavarāya chieftain should do anything the members of the confederacy would march against them, and took the vow that if they did not act so they would bear 'the sandals of the Vāṇa Kovaraiyan.[8] .Thus it is evident that the attitude of the Bāṇa chieftain towards the Cōḷa emperor became hostile about 1205. An undated verse inscription records the conquest of the Kāḍava, Magadha and Ganga by one Viḍugāḍaḷagiya Perumāl.[9] Obviously Magadha in the inscription is the same as the Magadai territory over which the Bāṇas were ruling.

Towards the close of his reign Kulōttunga III had to taste the bitter fruits of his policy against the Pāṇḍyas. On the death of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara in 1216 his brother Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya succeeded to the Pāṇḍyan throne; and immediately thereafter he invaded the Cōḷa country to take revenge on the Cōḷa emperor for the excesses he had committed in his kingdom during the reign of his predecessor, set fire to the Cōla cities of Uṟaiyūr and Tanjore, pulled down a number of buildings, performed his *vīrābhiṣekam* in the Cōḷa *abhiṣeka maṇḍapa* at Āyirattaḷi and after worshipping Lord Poṉṉambalanātha at Tillai (Chidambaram) way staying at Poṉ Amarāvati. Then when Rājarāja III who had been deprived of his kingdom appealed to Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya to return back to him his kingdom he restored it to him.[10] Two inscriptions mention that the Pāṇḍya king restored the Cōḷa country to Kulōttunga III.[11] The inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I mentioned above says

8. 516 of 1902; *SII.* VIII, No. 106.
9. 552 of 1906.
10. 140 of 1894; *EI.* XXII, p. 42; also 549 of 1926, 322 of 1927-28, 47 of 1937-38, *Rep.*, para 44 and *EI.*, XXIV, p. 161.
11. 72 of 1924; 9 of 1926.

that before performing his own *vīrābhiṣeka* in the anointing hall at Āyirattaḷi he bestowed the golden crown of the Cōḷas on a Bāṇa.[12] Doubt has been expressed regarding the meaning of the term *bāṇan* as it may refer to both a bard and a Bāṇa chieftain.[13] But there is nothing improbable in the crown having been placed on the head of the Bāṇa chieftain. There is every possibility of the Bāṇa ruler who had taken up a hostile attitude against Kulōttunga III, having gone over to the side of the Pāṇḍya king by 1216. What was left to our guess in the Tinnevelly inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya I regarding the Bāṇa has been made explicit in two other inscriptions, both of them from Jambukeśvaram. One of them records the gift of the Cōḷa country by Sundara Pāṇḍya to the Bāṇa king (*Bāṇapati*). The other is in praise of the Bāṇa ruler evidently called *Vīra Māgadan* as indicated by the single Tamil line at the top of the inscription.[14] The possibility of Bāṇa help to Sundara Pāṇḍya is definitely borne out by an inscription of a Bāṇa chieftain in which he claims credit for the Pāṇḍyan success against the Cōḷa emperor in 1216.[15] It was this anti-Cōḷa policy of his that drew upon him all the anger of Hoysala Narasimha II who even before playing his part in the restoration of Cōḷa authority punished the Bāṇa ruler for his contumacy and imprudence.[16]

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12. See *EI.* XXII, pp. 46 and 51.
13. *EI.*, XXII, p. 51, *n.* 6.
14. *MER.*, 481 and 482 of 1903.
15. 507 of 1902; *SII.*, VIII. No. 97.
16. *See* for an account of the Hoysala activity against the Bāṇa ruler *Journal of Indian History*, XXIX, pp. 296-293.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE GUPTA TEMPLE AT DEOGARH By Pandit Madho Sarup Vats, M.A., Hony. F. R. A. S., Director General of Archaeology in India. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. No. 70. Pages vi+48. Plates XXXII. (Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1952) Price Rs. 7-12 or 12s. 6d.

This monograph on the Deogarh temple constitutes a welcome addition to the valuable series of Archaeological Memoirs. A brief description of the topography of the site (ch. I) is followed by a general account of the Temple Architecure during the Gupta period (ch. II). Then we get a detailed description of the temple (pages 12-30, ch. III) and a discussion (ch. IV) of the artistic value of the sculptures and their significance to social history as illustrating dresses, coiffures and jewellery, these being illustrated by drawings in plates XXVII-XXXI. A short chapter (p. 42—ch. V) on conservation concludes the memoir.

Plate V, Isometric projection showing conjectural restoration of the Temple from north-west is the *piece de resistance* of the monograph and the critical reader will have no hesitation in congratulating Pandit Vats on this fine piece of work which is much more convincing and true to known data than the conjectures of Cunningham adopted by Percy Brown. With the aid of this plate and the other illustrations in the volume, the reader will have little difficulty in calling up before his mind's eye a fairly adequate view of this gem of Gupta architecture, although it must be said that the illustrations of sculptures fall short of the reproductions in the series of the Annual Reports of the Department, not to speak of such excellent foreign models as the plates in the Taxila monograph of Marshall recently published by the Cambridge University Press. Mr. Vats dates the temple about A.D. 500 and shows that it marks the commencement of the development of the Śikhara of the North Indian type.

The temple was certainly dedicated to Viṣṇu and might well be called Viṣṇu temple; we have not sufficient justification for calling it Daśāvatāra temple, although the *avatāras* apparently did figure in the panels around the plinth which included

besides, some Rāmāyaṇa scenes and others from the *līlās* of Srī Kṛṣṇa; but the retention of the neutral name 'The Gupta Temple of Deogarh' strikes one as a lame resort. It must be added that though Pandit Vats suggests in a note the possibility of the temple having been dedicated to Keśava—the evidence being an inscription on a loose pillar mentioning Keśavapurasvāmi—he has wisely refrained from adopting the designation; we know, in fact, too little of the relation of the pillar to the temple to warrant even the suggestion made by Mr. Vats in the note.

Mr. Vats writes: 'The art treasures of Ajaṇṭā and Bagh, Bādāmi and Sittannavāśal, and sculptures of this period which have been found widely distributed over the whole of India and are rightly prized for their idealised expression have elicited their due meed of praise from connoisseurs' (p. 4). A few lines further on he mentions the Durgā and Lāḍkhān temples of Aihoḷe on the same page; and on page 9 we read: 'Among the hundreds of Gupta Brahminical temples, which were widely distributed from the Punjab in the north-west to Assam in the east and to the Kistna, the Deogarh temple represents a type of which but few examples have survived.' The transition from the heading of the chapter 'Temple Architecture during the Gupta period' to the hundreds of Gupta Brahminical temples distributed in the Kistna basin among other regions is both incautious and unjustified. Ajaṇṭā, Aihoḷe, and possibly also Bagh owed little to Gupta inspiration, and to bring them all together under the caption Gupta Art is to confuse dynastic and chronological approaches to art history. This tendency is becoming very common and the artistic influences on the Far East are also often put under the omnibus heading 'Gupta Influences'. Amarāvatī, Ajaṇṭā, Aihoḷe had estimable art traditions of their own with which the Guptas had nothing to do, and for aught we know artistic movements had little direct relation to dynasties of ruling princes though their patronage had often a great part in providing scope for artists' talent. A scientific publication of this type should sail clear of clap-trap.

Some pillars and other architectural members and sculptures having no organic relation to the temple described in the monograph have also found a place in it: perhaps it was necessary and convenient to deal with them here on account of their present location; but they might have been put into a separate

chapter or appendix instead of being mixed up with data on the main subject of study. And one is not a little surprised to find two pillars described in great detail (east face, south face, etc.) with reference to their location on either side of 'the godown porch' of a sculptural godown on the spot apparently put up by the Department (pp. 27-9).

We in the South strongly feel that Tanjore, Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram, Dārāsuram, Tribhuvanam, Aihoḷe, Bādāmi, Drākshārāma, Lepākshi, Tāḍpatri and a number of other great temples loudly cry for detailed archaeological descriptions in well-planned monographs, and that top officers of the department all crowding in an overcrowded Delhi have been unduly neglectful of these monuments. The balance could best be redressed by locating a strong branch of the central office with the Joint Director General of Archaeology at the top in the Deccan—in Poona, Hyderabad or in Bangalore.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

SRNGARAMANJARI OF SAINT AKBAR SHAH, Edited with a critical study by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D., Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Madras University. Published by the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, 1951. Rs. 15/-.

Dr. Raghavan has brought out one more little-known Sanskrit text, which, though a late composition, is an interesting work for several reasons. It is attributed to a Muslim author, Akbar Shāh, a friend of the ill-fated Qutb Shāhi king Abul Hasan Tānā Shāh of Golconda who reigned in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It appears that the work was originally written in Telugu and then translated into Sanskrit under the patronage of and in collaboration with Akbar Shāh, who was a distinguished scholar and poet of Hyderabad city. The work is thus linked up with the Telugu literature of the Qutb Shāhi age.

The main topic of Śṛṅgāramañgarī is the classification and definition of the various types of the Nāyikās, a subject of perennial interest in Indian poetics, which had, however, a peculiar fascination for certain later writers. Dr. Raghavan gives a masterly survey of the extensive literature on the subject in his very useful Introduction, and points out that

Akbar Shāh's Śṛṅgāramañjarī is mainly based on Bhānudatta's famous work Rasamañjarī and an important commentary on it called Āmoda composed by Gurujāla Raṅgaśāyin in the first half of the seventeenth century. This is another little-known composition on which Dr. Raghavan throws considerable light in his Introduction.

The conception and characterisation of the Nāyikās in the Sanskrit texts have a considerable psychological and sociological significance, and a critical and comparative treatment of the subject from this point of view might be of scientific value, and deepen our knowledge of certain phases of Indian culture. Any one making such an investigation will find in Dr. Raghavan's learned dissertation an invaluable guide.

From a literary point of view, a critical edition of the basic text Rasamañjarī with the Āmoda commentary will be welcome to students of Sanskrit poetry. We hope this will soon be undertaken either by Dr. Raghavan himself or by one of the research scholars working under his supervision.

K. K. HANDIQUI
(*Vice-Chancellor, Gauhati University.*)

PARYANTAPANCASIKA OF ABHINAVAGUPTA. Reprint, Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, Volume VIII, Parts I—II, pp. i-viii+1-22, Sanskrit Text with critical Introduction and Notes.

Who knows the treasures which still remain unavailable in print among the heaps of manuscripts lying in Mss. Libraries all over India? The task of bringing them to light is almost desperate, such is their abundance. We may therefore rightly wonder at Dr. Raghavan's patient work to which we owe today the discovery of a new work written by Abhinavagupta, the *Paryantapañcāśikā*, now published in the Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras. Dr. Raghavan had first shown that such a work had been written and had already collected quotations of it and hints about it from other works. That led him to the discovery of the manuscript of the work itself in the Trivandrum Mss. Library. Kashmiri works kept in Malayalam script in the southern-most Mss. Library of India! Dr. Raghavan has edited the text here with an excellent study about it which shows his deep study of Abhinavagupta's philosophy, as also of the monistic schools especially of the *Śabdādvaita*. In his Introduction he points out the eclecticism

of *Trika* philosophy and shows how the *Paryantapañcāśikā* bears witness of this by its borrowings from the *Śabdādvaita*. Practically, Abhinavagupta includes all the tenets of *Śabdādvaita* into his philosophy by establishing an exact correspondence between Śaivist and *Śabdādvaita* terminology. The Supreme *Vāk* is spoken of as the heart of the Lord himself, which means a more complete coordination between the two schools that was achieved after Somānanda's time (Cf. Somānanda's refutation of Śabdabrahman in *Śivadṛṣṭi*). That aspect of Abhinavagupta's philosophy was already known from such works as the *Parātriṁśikāvivaraṇa*, and Dr. Raghavan's study makes this newly discovered and published text even more precious for our knowledge of this aspect of Indian philosophy. Dr. Raghavan points out that this school of Indian philosophy, Kashmiri Saivism, is not well known. Let me hope that the way shown by such works will be pursued by numerous other students. May I, also, as a European, express the wish that many other studies and editions of this kind will be published in India, which will find interested readers all over the world.

MLLE. M. BIARDEAU, *Paris*.

GANDHARVAS AND KINNARAS IN INDIAN ICONOGRAPHY. By Vidyaratna R. S. Panchamukhi. Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, Rs. 2.

This *memoir* on the "Gandharvas and Kinnaras in Indian Iconography" by Mr. Panchamukhi, the well-known Kannada Epigraphist, is a welcome addition to the studies devoted to the unravelling of the mysteries of Indian Iconography in its different aspects; the subject has not received from other indologists as much attention as it deserves.

The author has culled out materials from various sources, to substantiate this study, but as the learned writer of the Introduction to this little book has mentioned that there are other sources including the literatures of the South which remain untapped. Even amongst the literary references cited in the book, references to the works of poets like Kālidāsa are conspicuous by their absence. The materials are dealt with as follows: The first chapter is devoted to the study of the various meanings of the word Gandharva as found in the Vedas and the Śāstras; the next chapter is devoted to the examination of the demigods amongst Jain and Buddhist

pantheons; the third chapter examines epigraphical references to the demigods; the fourth is devoted to the examination of the descriptions of these denizens of air as found in the classical and mediaeval literatures where the authorities are found to differ regarding the forms of Gandharvas and Kinnaras although they agree that these semi-divine beings have for their chief charateristics, music and dancing; the fifth chapter deals with the actual representations of these divinities in sculptures and paintings of India, Burma etc., dating from the 2nd century B. C. to the modern period; and the last chapter deals with the unit of measurement to be adopted in making the figures of these demigods, where it is known that *navatāla* system is the generally accepted one for these figures.

Mr. Panchamukhi's identification of the flying figures as well as the garland-bearers in the Amaravati and other sculptures clears the doubts regarding their identification. He is right in maintaining that Gandharva has nothing to do with *gardabha*. His memoir will certainly give a stimulus to scholars to pay more attention to the subject of Indian Iconography. It has, however, the defects such as the absence of an orderly arrangement of the data, particularly the epigraphical, sculptural and pictoria evidences, the absence of references to the plates in the contexts, and the deviation from the accepted dates in regard to certain groups of sculptures and monuments like those of Bharhut sculptures, Amaravati and the Lad Khan temple; these it is hoped, will be rectified at the time of reprinting. There are a number of misprints (e.g. aa for as, p. 5; scepture sceptre, p. 15; steriotyed for stereotyped, p. 30, etc.), which could have been avoided. The book is worth adding to any reference Library.

P. R. SRINIVASAN
(*Arch. Curator, Govt. Museum, Madras*)

A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR FOR STUDENTS. By A. A. Macdonell. Third edition, 1950. Oxford University Press. xx+264. Rs. 8/8.

It is hardly necessary to introduce afresh to scholars Macdonell's "Sanskrit Grammar for Students" which since its first publication in 1886 has been deservedly popular among Sanskrit grammars written by European scholars. This is perhaps due to the fact that it studiously avoids all forms and

matter non-essential to a student of the classical texts and presents in a handy volume all the essential matter in a well-arranged, lucid manner. Latin and Greek cognates have been given, and such of the topics as are necessary for getting a grip of the elements of Sanskrit grammar have been demarcated for the benefit of beginners. The typography and other contrivances too make it neat and easy for use. An Introductory sketch of the history of Sanskrit grammar and three Appendices giving an alphabetical list of verbs with the main derived forms, classical metres and an outline of Vedic grammar contribute to the further utility of the book.

Like the Indian edition of the author's Vedic Reader, reviewed in a previous number of this Journal (XIX. 238-9), the Indian edition of this work too has been issued by the Madras Branch of the Oxford University Press, at a reduced price. The thanks of all students of Sanskrit are due to them for this publication.

K. V. SARMA

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The Fundamental Aspirations of Man According to Indian Thought

Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao Lectures, Madras University, 1952.

27 JAN 1953
MADRAS

BY

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., B.L., M.L.C.

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PREFACE

This represents two lectures delivered by me under the auspices of the Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao Lectureship Endowment.

According to the terms of the endowment the lectures have to be delivered once in two years on a subject relating to "some aspects of ancient Indian culture studied from original sources". Accordingly the subject chosen was "The Fundamental Aspirations of Man According to Indian Thought". The lectures were delivered on two consecutive days on the 19th and 20th August, 1952 and on the first day the lecture was presided over by Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras and on the second day, by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. L. Venkatarama Iyer.

In our ancient literature the subject is discussed under the caption "Purusharthas". References to the Purusharthas are contained in various places in all our ancient Indian classics ranging from the Vedas to the Kavya literature. It has not been possible to collect all the material exhaustively. But many of the important sources are indicated in the lectures and all the main ideas which have been expressed by our ancient seers and poets about the four Purusharthas have been expounded. More than that it has not been possible to do within the limited scope of these lectures under the auspices of the above endowment. It is a fit subject for an exhaustive treatise.

There are a few works in Sanskrit of the nature of compilations devoted to the inculcation of teachings under the four heads of Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, like for instance the Purusharthasudhanidhi found in manuscript in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. In English, I have not been able to find any special treatise devoted solely to an exposition of this very valuable subject.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the Madras University for permission to publish these lectures through the Journal of Oriental Research, and to the authorities of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, for undertaking their publication.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR

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THE FUNDAMENTAL ASPIRATIONS OF MAN, ACCORDING TO INDIAN THOUGHT

I beg to express my heart-felt thanks to the Vice-Chancellor and other members of the Syndicate of the Madras University for the great honour they have done me by inviting me to deliver the lecture under the auspices of the Diwan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao Lectureship. I had the privilege of seeing the great and good man whose name is associated with this lectureship and I know what an abiding interest he took in ancient Indian culture and how much he was himself imbued with the true spirit of that culture. I, therefore, feel that it is very appropriate that the subject of the lecture should, according to the terms of the endowment, be one relating to some aspect of ancient Indian culture studied from original sources. When I look at the names of the great and distinguished scholars who delivered the lectures in previous years under the auspices of this endowment, I have to approach my task with trepidation and diffidence. I, therefore, largely rely on the good-will of my audience and also upon the interest which the subject is likely to arouse in their minds. I implore you to listen to me in the same way as Kalidasa did in the Vikramorvasiya, modified to suit the present context.

प्रणयिषु वा दाक्षिण्याद् अथवा पुरुषार्थवस्तुबहुमानात् ।
श्रृणुतावहिताः व्याख्यां सुब्रह्मण्यस्य बालपूर्वस्य ॥

Friends, the wisest man of Greece, Socrates said "The noblest of all investigations is the study of what man should be and what he should pursue". It is a matter for wonder that Indian thought which has had a hoary antiquity, from the earliest times, focussed its attention and directed the search-light of its reasoning and analysis to the subject of the meaning and purpose of man's life on earth. The sages, seers, prophets and poets of India were profoundly interested in this study of what man should be and what man should pursue. It is generally recognised now that Indian thinkers exhibit a marked tendency to approach questions like these in a scientific spirit and to investigate them with the aid of their power of systematic logic and clear-cut analysis. They

endeavour to discover what the supreme goal of life is, and then, to comprehend the nature of the fundamental aspirations of the human heart and to study its psychological tendencies and to deduce therefrom what the objectives of life are and what they should be. Just as in science, here too, deductions are made and conclusions are reached by a process of reasoning from certain basic truths and observed facts and certain formulas arrived at by experience and insight.

The first and foremost basic fact is that man is essentially an animal. He possesses instincts, tendencies and desires in common with animals. The great philosopher Sri Sankaracharya has beautifully expressed it in sutra form in his Sutra Bhashya, thus पश्वादिभिश्चाविशेषात् (man is none different from animals). A famous Sanskrit verse expounds it thus:

आहारनिद्राभयमैथुनं च सामान्यमेतत् पशुभिर्नराणाम् ।
धर्मो हि तेषामधिको विशेषः धर्मेण हीनाः पशुभिस्समानाः ॥

"Eating, sleep, fear and copulation, these are common to man with animals. What is more in men is Dharma. Devoid of Dharma they become equal to animals." The four characteristics enumerated here are only illustrative. The instinct for cruelty, the lust for power and the struggle for existence may also be mentioned as common to animals. From the accounts that we read of the half man of the Paleolithic Age, we have to conclude that primitive man was not much above the level of the animal and that with him the law of the jungle prevailed and that he was content with the struggle for existence and the satisfaction of his animal desires. Even in spite of his great and wonderful advancement in material civilisation and rapid strides he has made in the acquisition of knowledge, and in the progress of science, in spite of his marvellous conquest and control of nature, man has not made much progress in rising superior to his animal nature. A writer has said, "Man has learnt to fly in the air like a bird and to swim in the water like a fish, but he has not learnt to walk on earth like a man." But it is equally true that he is much more than an animal and that he is essentially, a spirit also. The divine spark is in him which lights his whole nature. The reflective capacity of the human mind and its power of free invention, cannot partake of the

nature of instincts. Man possesses self-consciousness, the intelligence to look before and after and vary action according to circumstances. It was Pascal who said "that the minute human being who knows he is crushed, is infinitely higher than the un-knowing mass, however vast, which crushes him". It is this knowledge, this power of discrimination which distinguishes man from the animal. The great statesman and poet, Sri Nilakantha Dikshitar expressed this truth in a beautiful verse which means "If even after attaining the position of being born a man, he does not possess wisdom and discrimination then, it is much better he be an animal as he will not then be subject to the controlling law of sin".

अपि मानुष्यकं लब्ध्वा भवन्ति ज्ञानिनो न ये ।
पशुतैव वरं तेषां प्रत्यवायाप्रवर्तनात् ॥

(Sabharanjana Sataka Sl. 7).

Jalaluddin Rumi, the famous Sufi poet said "I died a mineral and became a plant. I died a plant and rose an animal. I died an animal and I was man. Why should I fear? When was I less, by dying? Yes, Once more I shall die as man to soar with the blessed angels; but even from angelhood I must pass on. All except God perishes. When I have sacrificed my angel soul, I shall become that which no mind can conceive." Indian thought has, therefore, proceeded upon the recognition of the value of this truth, namely, that man's progress lies towards the perfection of an Angel and the manifestation of the divinity within him. We find frequent reference in our sacred literature to the three levels and grades of created beings, the level of the Deva, of the Manushya and of the Tiryak (lower creatures). In the long course of evolution of which we read accounts in the Puranas, especially in the Srimad Bhagavata, the Jiva has progressed from the level of the animal to that of the manushya and he must rise higher to the level of the deva, and he should so perfect himself to attain it. As Samuel Taylor Coleridge says "If man is not rising upward to be an angel, depend upon it, he is sinking downward to be a devil. He cannot stop at the beast".

Secondly, Indian thought has proceeded upon the assumption of the truth of the doctrine of Karma and Re-incarnation. It believes in the immortality of the soul; that the soul is

beginningless and endless and that in its pilgrimage through the Universe, it takes successive bodies, the nature and characteristics of which are largely determined by the conduct and action of the individual when the soul passes from one body to another. The doctrine of Karma emphasises the principle that as a man sows, he shall reap and he is the maker of his own destiny. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the full scope and content of the doctrine of Karma and Re-incarnation here. They are well-known to all students of Indian thought. I have made reference to it because it is noteworthy that during the long course of the history of Indian thought throughout the ages, the doctrines of Karma and Re-incarnation have played a great part in moulding the characteristic features of Indian thought on all aspects of life. It is well-known that Indian thought has admitted a large amount of free thinking, but except the school of Charvakas which never had a large following in our country, all other schools of Indian thought have never doubted the truth and utility of the doctrine of Karma and Re-incarnation. In fact, we do not find any discussion of the view for and against the doctrine in any books of our sacred literature as we find in regard to every other matter. All our thinkers have taken it for granted that the doctrine of Karma and Re-incarnation has been well-established from time immemorial in our country. In fact, it has become part and parcel of the consciousness of the Indian race. Even the dissident religions like Buddhism and Jainism did not throw any doubt on the doctrine and proceeded to discuss the principles of their religion on the assumption of the truth of the doctrine. Western scholars, sometimes, have appreciated the doctrine, as a clever hypothesis which gives a working explanation for the inequalities and tribulations, the injustices and tragedies of human life, without attributing to God the grave charge of partiality and mercilessness. Some other Western scholars have regretted the effect of the doctrine upon the Indian mind as casting a note of pessimism and infusing the spirit of negation of worldly life. But the truth is that the doctrine, far from striking a note of pessimism or infusing the spirit of the negation of worldly life, tended to reinforce the faith of the Indian in the ultimate values of life for their own sake, irrespective of utility or reward. With this background Indian thinkers proceed to the study of what man should be and what he should pursue. They comprehend the scope of this topic by the

significant Sanskrit compound "Purushartha". Sometimes this word has been translated by Indian writers of note, when discussing the topic, as "the values of life". But the defect in translating it thus is that the "values of life" have always meant to western thinkers those ultimate values which are referred to as Truth, Goodness and Beauty. They exist apart from the objects possessing them. They are not subjective, but, according to western writers, are entirely objective and absolute. But "Purushartha" means and connotes the aims and purposes of life or the fundamental aspirations of man.

The term "Purushartha" not only denotes what the objectives of life *should be*, but it also comprehends what the objectives of life *are* as the result of the psychological tendencies of the individual. These Purusharthas are said to be fourfold. The Agni Purana states expressly that Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha are the four Purusharthas.

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाश्च पुरुषार्था उदाहृताः ।

In fact, all Indian thinkers are agreed that the Purusharthas can be classified into these four categories and that all man's aspirations are comprised in these four. This fourfold Purushartha classification is so well-established that it forms part of the sankalpa that is pronounced by every Hindu before any ritual, ceremony or other religious or charitable act is begun. It is recited thus:

धर्मार्थकाममोक्ष-चतुर्विधपुरुषार्थसिध्यर्थं कर्म करिष्ये ॥

It is a well recognized principle that every ritual, ceremony or other religious act is performed for the purpose of enabling the individual who performs it to realise these four purusharthas of life. Whenever these are mentioned the order has always been that dharma was the first, artha was the second, kama was the third, and the fourth and last was moksha. No Hindu has ever thought even in fun or for love of change, to mention these four in any different order. Hence we see the order in which they are referred to has great significance and there is meaning behind it. A change in the order may alter the scope, content and relative importance of these four objects of life. We shall now consider the exact significance and connotation of these four Purusharthas, dharma, artha, kama and moksha. In Tamil classics they are mentioned as "*Aram, Porul, Inbam* and *Veedu*".

Vyasa, Valmiki and Valluvar are the greatest exponents of the fourfold purushartha. Vyasa confidently claims in the Mahabharata that, as regards dharma, artha, kama and moksha, what is found here may be elsewhere and what is not here will be found nowhere else. His Epic is a completely exhaustive treatise on this great topic :—

धर्मे च अर्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।
यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न कुत्रचित् ॥

The Ramayana also states that it is कामार्थगुणसंयुक्तं धर्मार्थगुणविस्तरम् । It deals with the worth of kama and artha and treats *in extenso* of dharma and moksha (the second artha means here Moksha, *vide* Govindaraja's Commentary). Valluvar's work, the immortal Kural, deals with aram, porul, inbam and veedu, the chapters themselves being styled "Arattupal" "Porutpal" and "Kamattupal". Though there is no heading as veedu, it is dealt with under the caption "Turavaram". There is precedent for this. The Mahabharata in the Santi Parva gives the caption "moksha dharma", moksha as part of Dharma. Now of the four purusharthas, Indian thinkers consider that the first two stand in relation to the next two as Sadhana and Sadhya, as means and ends. It will further be seen that dharma and moksha are of primary, while artha and kama are of secondary importance.

All thinkers, eastern and western, are agreed that every effort or activity in life is directed towards the attainment of happiness. Rama says in the Ayodhya Kanda,

आत्मा सुखे नियोक्तव्यः सुखभाजः प्रजास्स्मृताः ।

But alas, the painful truth remains, that the happiness, we enjoy, is transitory, fleeting and illusory and is often mingled with misery and suffering, nor is it the lot of all to be happy. Even those who enjoy moments of happiness are not fortunate to be happy till the end.

Man longs, therefore, for pure joy, unalloyed, ever-lasting happiness, free from the least trace of misery and pain. Here on earth "we look before and after and pine for what is not; our sincerest laughter is fraught with pain, and our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thoughts". Death, disease,

old age, poverty and want bring in their train untold misery. The human heart is sick with hope deferred, expectations blasted, ambition wrecked and desire unfulfilled and disappointment felt. Sri Rama again says,

> सर्वे क्षयान्ताः निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः ।
> संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ताः मरणान्तं च जीवितं ॥ (Ayodhya Kanda)

Hence man anxiously looks forward to a state of supreme bliss beyond earthly existence. The national poet of India, Kalidasa dolefully asks:

> कस्यात्यन्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा ।
> नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ॥

"To whom has been the lot to be happy till the end?" Hence our great sages and philosophers recognize both kama or worldly happiness and moksha or eternal happiness as purusharthas and of the two, moksha as the supreme purushartha. In the Tamil classics, with a view to bring out clearly the element of happiness common to both, kama is referred as, chirrinba or merely Inba and moksha as Perinba.

Now the word moksha, literally, means deliverance, that is, deliverance of the soul from bondage, bandha-moksha. Our great philosophers argue that, so long as the soul is imprisoned in the body, is subject to the shackles of the organism and is enmeshed in sordid matter, so long as the soul is in the bondage of matter, it will never be free from the taint of misery and pain and suffering of the three kinds, adhi-bhoutika, adhi-atmika and adhi-daivika, bodily, mental and God-made, the Tapatraya. Here the Hindu doctrine of karma and reincarnation comes into full operation. The soul's bondage in the body is the result of its past karma. The soul takes many bodies and goes through the cycle of births and deaths to enjoy the fruits, good and bad, of karma. Man is held responsible for all the ills of life due to the result of his actions, in previous births. He is only reaping the consequence of such actions. Indian thinkers argue, therefore, that the endeavour should be to get rid of the effects of karma and to attain a state where the karma has no longer any effect. They give the example of fried seeds which no longer have the power of giving rise to sprouts. In the

same way, the actions which a man performs during his life could be rendered incapable of giving rise to what Indian thinkers have called "samskaras" which have the effect of producing the consequences of those actions which are not limited to his present life but which will come into vogue in future lives also. They have, therefore, discussed the ways by which these effects of a man's karmas can be got rid of. Therefore, their idea of moksha is such a state where the soul is no longer subject to the effects of karma and is freed from the possibilities of its taking further bodies in future lives on account of the consequences of such karmas. Gautama, in his Nyaya Sutra, clearly enunciates the nature of moksha and the means of attaining it.

दुःखजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमिथ्याज्ञानानाम् उत्तरोत्तरापाये तदनन्तरापायात् अपवर्गः ।

Moksha results from the extinction of false knowledge, which causes the extinction of dosha, lust and hate, which results in the extinction of all karmas, which again results in the extinction of all birth, which again results in the extinction of sorrow. The steps for the attainment of moksha are indicated by this sutra, thus: Endeavour must be made to remove the false and illusory knowledge that we possess by acquiring true knowledge of the world and God. This attainment of true knowledge will have the effect of destroying the two evils, lust and hate, which taint the soul. When lust and hate are removed from the mind, then the tendency to all action is extinguished; and when action ceases birth disappears entirely, and when birth is at an end sorrow ceases and moksha is attained, where the soul is free from the cycle of births and deaths. Hence according to Indian thinkers, moksha is that perfect state of supreme bliss where there is the cessation of the effects of karma. But there is difference of opinion as regards the details of this ideal of moksha. According to the Advaita school moksha is of two kinds, the videha mukti and jeevan mukti. The two kinds are sometimes also referred to as sadyo-mukti and krama-mukti. Even when the soul is in the embodied state during its earthly existence, the Advaita thinkers hold that man who is essentially a spirit, can attain the jeevan-mukti state where he can live entirely in the spirit without being affected by the evil effects of bondage,

by the shackles of the body and entanglements of matter. They rely upon the Upanishadic saying:

अशरीरं वावसन्तं न प्रियाप्रिये स्पृशतः ।

which means that he who is without the body, as it were, is unaffected by either priya or apriya, likes or dislikes. The ways by which such a state can be attained have also been elaborately discussed and established. They have argued that the bondage of the soul in matter is due to beginningless ignorance or anadi avidya, as they have termed it and once this avidya is destroyed by jnana, the evil effects of karma are destroyed. According to Indian thinkers, karma is of three kinds. Those actions which will produce the effect in future life are called "agami karmas"; those which have already been performed in past lives and may give rise to effects in future are called "sanchita" and those karmas which have already begun to fructify in the present life are called "prarabdha". Even though a man, on account of his realisation of jnana, may have his agami and sanchita karmas entirely destroyed, still those karmas which have begun to fructify in the present life, will not be destroyed and will continue to produce their effects until the present life is extinguished. They give the example of the arrow which has been shot already and which will surely stop only by striking at the target. Hence they hold that in spite of the jeevanmukti state, he will continue to live and reap the consequences of his past karma, until at death he attains the state of mukti. Some of the non-vedantic schools of Indian thought like the Sankhya and even the dissident Buddhist school accept jeevanmukti. The possibility of attaining jeevanmukti here is shown by the lives of great saints, even in recent years, like Sadasiva Brahmendra, Trilingasvami of Benares, Seshadriswami of Tiruvannamalai, Mounaswami of Kumbhakonam and others. The other school of Vedanta thinkers hold that it is not possible for man to attain mukti during his present life on earth and that mukti can be in store for him only after death. There has been another difference also among the various schools of thought. The Nyaya and the Samkhya schools are of opinion that mukti is not one of happiness or supreme bliss, but is only negative, namely, freedom from pain and suffering. But according to the Vedanta school—and this can be regarded as the final verdict of the

Indian mind—the ideal is positive, namely supreme, un-alloyed, eternal bliss free from all sorrow and from the possibility of the soul ever entering samsara or the cycle of births and deaths. These differences of opinion among the various schools of Indian thinkers, as regards moksha, have been clearly explained in the works of Madhusudana Sarasvati, namely, the Vedanta Kalpalatika and his commentary on Sankshepa Sariraka. All Indian thinkers are however, agreed that the highest aspiration of the human soul should be to attain moksha and that human life should be one continuous preparation for it and that the longing for mukti should permeate man's whole being.

This acceptance by all schools of Indian thought of moksha as the supreme goal of human aspiration and as the lodestar of all human effort has given an unique direction to Hindu Ethics. It has led them, one and all, to insist upon a life of unselfish, disinterested service and duty and of annihilation of the ego, in short to emphasise karma yoga, or nishkama karma as otherwise ordinary human action with phalabhisandhi and with ego will give rise to bondage of the soul and moksha will recede beyond his reach. The Lord in the Bhagavad Gita in the seventh adhyaya declares: those men of virtuous deeds whose sin has come to an end, freed from the pair of opposites, desire and aversion, worship Me with firm resolve and it is they who strive for freedom from old age and death know the Brahman.

येषां त्वन्तगतं पापं जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् ।
ते द्वन्द्वमोहनिर्मुक्ता भजन्ते मां दृढव्रताः ॥ २८ ॥
जरामरणमोक्षाय मामाश्रित्य यतन्ति ये ।
ते ब्रह्म तद्विदुः कृत्स्नमध्यात्मं कर्म चाखिलम् ॥ २९ ॥ VII.

It is the firm conviction of our great sages and seers that the highest interests of life are served best by the practice of unselfishness and disinterested devotion to duty. The man whose highest aspiration is to attain moksha comes to the conviction, as a corollary to this belief, that man is more than anything else, essentially, a spirit and that it is the life of the spirit even on earth, or as Aldous Huxley pithily puts it is "the dying to self" that will enable him to attain moksha either here or hereafter. In fact, as Rev. Holmes states of Mahatma

Gandhi "His confidence in eternity makes possible his happiness in time". Then only man can hope for the deliverance of the spirit which is enmeshed in this gross muddy vesture of decay, சடகசடமுடபட்டி as Arunagirinathar of Tiruppugazh fame says, from the bondage of matter, and from the cycle of recurring births and deaths. As Prof. M. Rangachariar says, in his lectures on the Gita, second volume, page 117: "The history of man, as lighted and explained by the associated modern auxiliary sciences gives ample support to the view that the unfoldment of the power of the spirit is in reality the aim of God's government of the universe and that this unfoldment takes place more through ethical evolution than through what has, in contrast, been called 'the natural evolution', that is, more through self-sacrifice than through self-assertion; more through altruism than through egoism." Thus we réalise that the enunciation and acceptance of moksha as the supreme goal of life by Indian thinkers has given a unique direction to the whole philosophy of life unparalleled in the history of thought in any other country.

Among the four purusharthas, moksha is mentioned as the last as it is the supreme, or parama-purushartha. Next in order comes kama. There is one feature common to both of these. Moksha is supreme, unalloyed, eternal happiness; while kama denotes the happiness or joy enjoyed by ordinary mortals in life. They both have as already mentioned the element of happiness. That is why in Tamil religious literature, kama is called "chirrinba" while moksha is called "perinba". By "chirrinba" is meant the small transient joys of life on earth, while 'perinba" denotes supreme happiness. Indi‹ n thinkers have accepted both moksha and kama as purusharthas. Among the four purusharthas kama and m‹ ksha may be called "sadhya purusharthas" while dharma and artha can be called "sadhana purusharthas". Through the medium of dharma and artha, one is enabled to attain kama and moksha. The charge of being other-worldly cannot be laid against Indian thinkers. They have laid equal emphasis upon the pure joys of life in the pursuit of the fine arts, or the satisfaction of our legitimate aspiration, ambitions and hopes. To enjoy the sun-shine or a landscape, to listen to music, to read a play is both sensuous and spiritual. The joys of married life are extolled, The happiness that is derived from the performance of duty and from the leading of a pure

and noble life is commended. Kama is not merely confined to the low pleasures of the senses. Hence it is that the Lord in the Gita says when enumerating his various vibhutis that He is the embodiment of kama which is not opposed to or inconsistent with the pursuit and performance of dharma.

धर्माविरुद्धः भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ।

It is that kama which is sinful and which is contrary to the dictates of one's conscience or of dharma that is condemned by our Indian thinkers. Hence they have viewed kama or the joy of life as one of the legitimate aspirations of man.

By artha is meant wealth. In its general connotation it may include all material comforts, economic welfare and security. The acquisition of wealth may well, therefore, be regarded as the primary purpose of life, as without it human existence itself is impossible. One has to live before he can live well. Artha is the foundation upon which the whole structure of life has been built and all the other purusharthas can only be achieved by the fulfilment of this primary purpose in life. The word Artha has a very wide significance as in the Artha Sastra, the science of polity, the political and economic structure of a state. But the meaning of the word, when used in the context of the purushartha of the individual is, that which I have already indicated, acquisition of wealth for livelihood and material comforts. Indian thinkers have always regarded the economic factor as an essential element of human life. There is no sin in the acquisition of wealth nor is there any virtue in poverty. Indian thought does not advocate asceticism or renunciation of wealth for all but the chosen few. It does not contemplate asceticism as part of the normal good life. 'अनायासेन मरणं विना दैन्येन जीवनम्' is our daily prayer. Our seers do not look down upon the efforts to increase a man's wealth. The great talented lady-moralist of the Tamil land, Avvai said திரை கடல் ஓடியும் திரவியம் தேடு, "Go even across the billowy ocean and acquire wealth". अर्थकरी च विद्या said the Upanishad. In Bhagavad Gita the Lord characterises the Artharthi who worships God for the sake of wealth as a noble person.

चतुर्विधा भजन्ते मां जनाः सुकृतिनोऽर्जुन ।
आर्तो जिज्ञासुरर्थार्थी ज्ञानी च भरतर्षभ ॥ ७-१६ ॥
उदाराः सर्व एवैते ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम् ॥ ७-१८ ॥

In the 83rd Sarga of the Yuddha Kanda (slokas 32 to 38) Valmiki puts in the mouth of Lakshmana a panegyric on Artha as a primary and praiseworthy goal of life.

अर्थेभ्यो हि विवृद्धेभ्यः संवृत्तेभ्यस्ततस्ततः ।
क्रियास्सर्वाः प्रवर्तन्ते पर्वतेभ्य इवापगाः ॥ ३२ ॥
अर्थेन हि वियुक्तस्य पुरुषस्याल्पतेजसः ।
व्युच्छिद्यन्ते क्रियास्सर्वाः ग्रीष्मे कुसरितो यथा ॥ ३३ ॥
सोऽयमर्थं परित्यज्य सुखकामः सुखैधितः ।
पापमारभते कर्तुं ततो दोषः प्रवर्तते ॥ ३४ ॥
यस्यार्थाः तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्तस्य बान्धवाः ।
यस्यार्थाः स पुमाँल्लोके यस्यार्थाः स च पण्डितः ॥ ३५ ॥
यस्यार्थाः स च विक्रान्तः यस्यार्थाः स च बुद्धिमान् ।
यस्यार्थाः स महाभागो यस्यार्थाः स गुणाधिकः ॥ ३६ ॥
अर्थस्यैते परित्यागे दोषाः प्रव्याहृता मया ।
राज्यमुत्सृजता वीर येन बुद्धिस्त्वया कृता ॥ ३७ ॥
यस्यार्थाः धर्मकामार्थाः तस्य सर्वं प्रदक्षिणम् ।
अधनेनार्थकामेन नार्थः शक्यो विचिन्वता ॥ ३८ ॥

"From wealth amassed and increased all actions proceed, as rivers from mountains. To the person of little power and energy bereft of wealth, all actions are extinct, like rivulets in summer. If a person abandons wealth, he, seeking happiness, begins to commit sin and wrong and lead a sinful life, with increased longing for enjoyment. To the wealthy exist friends and relations. He who has wealth is regarded as a man by people. He is considered a learned man. He is lucky and is intelligent. I have pointed out all these defects of the abandonment of wealth as your thoughts are on leaving your kingdom. To the man of wealth dharma, kama and artha and all else are helpful. The man of poverty desirous of wealth and seeking it finds it difficult to get it."

Nilakantha Dikshita points out the importance of artha thus:

अर्थेनोपार्ज्यते धर्मः धर्मेणार्थ उपार्ज्यते ।
अन्योन्याश्रयणं ह्येतद् उभयोत्पत्तिसाधनम् ॥

(Sabharanjana Sataka sl. 78).

अर्थोऽप्यर्थेन चेत्साध्यः का वार्ता धर्मकामयोः ।
अर्थः सर्वजगन्मूलं अनर्थोऽर्थविपर्ययः ॥ (Sabha 87)
कर्म ज्ञानं च मोक्षाय कर्मण्यर्थोऽधिकारिता ।
अतोऽर्थेनैव कैवल्यं न कैवल्येन लभ्यते ॥ (Sabha 88)

"Dharma is earned by artha and by dharma, artha is earned. The one is the means and support of the other and vice versa. If artha can be acquired, then what have we to say about dharma and kama. Artha is the source of the whole world. The loss of wealth spells ruin. The knowledge of karma leads to moksha. Artha is the authoriser of karma. Therefore by artha alone there is moksha, kaivalya cannot be by proverty." In the Mahabharata, Santi Parva, 86 Adhyaya, Arjuna establishes that dharma and kama are the limbs of artha. Agriculture, trade, cattle-rearing and all crafts are all done for acquisition of wealth alone.

अर्थस्यावयवावेतौ धर्मकामाविति स्मृतिः ।
अर्थसिद्ध्याऽभिनिर्वृत्तावुभावेतौ भविष्यतः ॥ ११ ॥
कृषिवाणिज्यगोरक्ष्यं शिल्पानि विविधानि च ।
अर्थ इत्येव सर्वेषां कर्मणामभ्युपक्रमः ॥ १६ ॥

Manu says "Wealth should be acquired for livelihood". The limitation to the acquisition and enjoyment of wealth, is according to Indian thinkers, that such acquisition and enjoyment should not be opposed to the dictates and principles of Dharma. If this pursuit of wealth means loss and harm to others, then such pursuit of wealth, is not right.

यात्रामात्रप्रसिद्ध्यर्थं स्वैः कर्मभिरगर्हितैः ।
अक्लेशेन शरीरस्य कुर्वीत धनसंचयम् ॥ ४-५ ॥
नेहेतार्थान् प्रसङ्गेन न विरुद्धेण कर्मणा ।
न विद्यमानेष्वर्थेषु नार्त्यामपि यतस्ततः ॥

Kalidasa praises the acquiring of wealth for the sake of giving to others.

त्यागाय संभृतार्थानाम (Raghuvamsa, 1-7)
आदानं हि विसर्गाय पयो वारिमुचामिव ।

Certainly wealth and enjoyment of it are not in any sense opposed to righteous conduct or perfect morals. Acquisition is purified by giving and service.

Among the four purusharthas, dharma is always mentioned

first. This order is never changed. The four purusharthas are also referred to as chaturvarga and the first three, dharma, artha and kama more frequently go together and are referred to as trivarga.

It is said that Dharma is a word of protean significance. The phenomenon of some words acquiring wide significance is not peculiar to Indian words alone. The English word "Law" may mean many things and ranges from a local bye-law to the natural sequence of the universe—Law of the Universe. Dharma is an ancient word found in the Rig Veda and the suktas in which the word occurs are mentioned in Kane's History of the Dharma Sastra, Volume I. It is curious the word is often used in the Veda in the neuter gender.

तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् । तेह नाकं महिमानस्सचन्ते । यत्र पूर्वे साध्याः सन्ति देवाः । सनता धर्माणि ।

It is not clear as to when in the history of the evolution of the meaning of this word it came to be used in the masculine gender as "Dharmah". The probability is that the change must have synchronised with the evolving of a clear-cut, abstract conception of "Dharma" when the use of the word came more and more to approximate to the objective value known as Dharma in the same manner as truth, goodness and beauty came to denote abstract conceptions in Greek and other western philosophies. The original European translators of the word "Dharma" rendered it as "duty" and sometimes as "sacred law or religion". Through the passage of centuries the word acquired many significances. It came to denote ethical duty, and virtue and it generally meant "good works". It also denoted the injunctions regarding moral and religious conduct fundamental in the Vedas, one definition of Dharma being चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः ।

It also meant a code of customs and traditions and accepted convention.

धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च । (Apastambha Dharma Sutra).

It also denotes the various duties and rules laid down by the sastras for the various castes and communities in India. In that sense it is included in such compounds as swadharma, varnadharma, jatidharma, and when it denoted generally the traditional observances of

various communities, we find it used even in the compound Pashanda Dharma. In its abstract conception, it means the underlying fundamental law of one's being, that which holds a thing together, makes it what it is, prevents it from breaking up and changing it into something else. In other words, the characteristic function, peculiar property, fundamental attribute or essential nature of a thing is its Dharma, the law of its being. Further enlarged and idealised, it has come to mean that which makes the world what it is and holds all its parts together as one whole. It has the same significance as the English phrase "World order". When used in this context as one of the fundamental purusharthas, it denotes the duties which are parts of a scheme which binds together human beings in the bonds of mutual rights and duties, of causes and consequences of actions and which thus maintains society in perfect order. The word "Dharma" is derived from the root "Dhr" which means to uphold, sustain and nourish. Probably because Dharma has been in later literature personified and has been used as the name for Yama, the God of Justice, it may have acquired a masculine form though, of course, it has to be recognised that the gender of Sanskrit words does not exactly coincide with the appropriate gender of the things denoted by the words. Vide दाराः (Masculine gender) for wife. Hence in all later Sanskrit literature, you can never find "Dharmani" used as the plural of "Dharma". Though the word Dharma as I have already mentioned comprises many things and its significance is very wide, in so far as the word is used to denote the primary purushartha, its basic conception and its principle are very clearly enunciated by our Indian thinkers. The purpose of Dharma is the stability of society, the maintenance of social order, and the general welfare of mankind. And whatever conduces to the fulfilment of this purpose is called "Dharma".

धारणात् धर्म इत्याहुः धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ।
यो धारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

Mahabharata, Karna Parva, 69th Adhyaya, 59th sloka

प्रभवार्थाय भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।
यः स्यात् प्रभवसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

Santi Parva, 104th Adhyaya, 10th sloka

From its use often in close association with two other words namely "Rita and Satya" we can gather the underlying conception of Dharma. All these three words "Rita", "Satya" and "Dharma" have a very ancient history going back to Rigveda. The words Rita and Satya are found in the Rigveda in the following texts and in the upanishad.

ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात् तपसोऽध्यजायत ॥

ऋतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् ॥

ऋतं वदिष्यामि सत्यं वदिष्यामि तन्मामवतु तद्वक्तारमवतु ॥

(उपनिषत्)

Explaining the meaning of the word "Rita", Vidyaranya, the great commentator of Rigveda says that "it is the mental perception and realisation of truth". मानसं यथार्थसंकल्पनम् । The word "Satya" and "Dharma" are found together in the following lines in the Taittiriya Upanishad:

सत्यं वद । धर्मं चर ॥

In the Brihadaranyakopanishad both the words Satya and Dharma are used in the following text and the intimate connection between Satya and Dharma are also clearly pointed out therein.

स नैव व्यभवत् तच्छ्रेयोरूपमत्यसृजत धर्मम् । तदेतत्क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यद्धर्मः । तस्माद्धर्मात् परं नास्ति । अथो अबलीयान् बलीयांसं आशंसते धर्मेण यथा राज्ञा एवं यो वै स धर्मः । सत्यं वै तत् ॥

तस्मात्सत्यं वदन्तमाहुः धर्मं वदन्तीति, धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदन्तीति । एतद्ध्येवैतत् उभयं भवति ॥

(Brihadaranyakopanishad).

In his commentary on this text Sankara explains: Satya and Dharma thus

सत्यं यथाशास्त्रार्थता स एव अनुष्ठीयमानः धर्मनामा भवति ॥

"Satya is the speaking of truth while Dharma is the observance in action of truth". An analysis of the significance of these three words brings out clearly to us the fundamental basis of Dharma as the ideal for an individual. While Rita denotes the mental perception and realisation of truth and Satya denotes the exact true expression in words of the truth as perceived in the mind, Dharma is the observance in the conduct of life, of truth. In fact, Dharma is the way of

life which translates into action the truth perceived by the man of insight as expressed by him truly. In short, Rita is truth in thought. Satya is truth in words and Dharma is truth in deed. Hence it is that the Brihadaranyakopanishad proclaims that which is Dharma is truth. Therefore according to Indian thinkers, Dharma and truth are interchangeable words and the fundamental aspiration of man must necessarily be the pursuit of truth in thought, word and deed. And they are convinced that this pursuit of truth is the primary aim of life as it is bound to contribute to the prosperity ard well-being of mankind. In the Mahabharata Vyasa says in the Tuladhara-Jajali Samvada that it is only the person who is the friend of all and who is devoted to the welfare of all in thought, word and deed, that knows what Dharma is. Hence we see that when a man's character, conduct and action in life are guided by love and friendliness to all mankind and by the ardent desire of contributing to the welfare and prosperity of all mankind, he is said to be a Dharmishta or one who follows Dharma in life.

सर्वेषां च सुहृन्नित्यं सर्वेषां च हिते रतः ।
कर्मणा मनसा वाचा स धर्मं वेद जाजले ॥

(Santi Parva 268, Sloka 9).

It will be interesting to compare the Indian conception of Dharma with the modern conception of communism and humanism. The avowed object of communism and humanism is the same as that of Dharma, namely, the prosperity and welfare of human society. But Dharma differs fundamentally in the method and spirit from those of either communism or humanism. Communism is prepared to adopt violence and revolutionary methods for securing the achievement of its ideal. But Dharma seeks to achieve the welfare and happiness of the individual and of society in general, in the spirit and atmosphere of Ahimsa or non-violence and is opposed to violence and revolution. Vyasa declares in the Mahabharata, Santi Parva, Adhyaya 109, sloka 15, that the principles of Dharma have been enunciated for the sake of non-violence towards all beings and whatever is imbued with the spirit of non-violence is Dharma.

अहिंसार्थाय भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।
यस्स्याद् अहिंसासंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

In fact, he goes to the extent of saying that Ahimsa or non-violence is the highest Dharma (vide Mahabharata, Adhyaya 11, 13).

अहिंसा परमो धर्मः ।

The reign of Dharma is based on the negation of the doctrine, might is right. And it rests not on brute force or coercion or military strength. In the Brihadaranyakopanishad this fundamental basis of Dharma is beautifully expressed in the following text:—

स नैव व्यभवत् । तच्छ्रेयोरूपमत्यसृजत धर्मम् । तदेतत्क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यद्धर्मः । तस्माद्धर्मात्परं नास्ति अथो अबलीयान् बलीयांसं आशंसते धर्मेण यथा राजा एव यो वै स धर्मः । सत्यं वै तत् ॥

तस्मात्सत्यं वदन्तमाहुः धर्मं वदन्तीति, धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदन्तीति । एतद्ध्येवैतत् उभयं भवति ।

(Brihadaranayakopanishad)

सत्यं यथाशास्त्रार्थता स एव अनुष्ठीयमानः धर्मनामा भवति ।

(Sri Sankara)

This can be translated as follows:—"After creating the four varnas namely, the intellectual and spiritual class, the warrior class, the trader and artisan class and the labourer class, Prajapati felt his work not complete, and he therefore proceeded to create over and above all these, Dharma which is of the form of supreme happiness and welfare. This Dharma is the controller of the Kshatriya. There is nothing higher than Dharma. Hence a weak man desires to control a strong man through Dharma, as the king does by the arm of the law. That Dharma is truth."

In this text the great Rishi of the Upanishads emphasises that Dharma is essential to ensure the stability of society, not by the strength and power of the ruler or of the state, but by the inherent effect of self-control, exercised by every individual in his observance of Dharma. Thus the strong man though, having the power of a giant does not use it like a giant against the weak and avoids wrong and injustice to others. In this way, by the exercise of self-control and observance of his duties by every individual to his fellow-beings human society is freed from the strong man's tyranny, the oppressor's wrongs and the proud man's contumely. The great Sankaracharya in the commentary on this text makes a very significant observation explaining why Prajapati the creator felt that

his work of creating humanity was not complete, but proceeded to create Dharma over and above the ruler or the Kshatriya. He says:

उग्रत्वात् क्षत्रियस्य अनियताशंकया ।

"On account of the uncertainty of the Kshatriya's power due to his coercive and oppressive character." For it is not always that the race is to the swift or the battle to the strong, and survival is not always of the fittest. Therefore, the Lord suspected the mere creation of a governing class will not alone be sufficient for the maintenance of the stability of society and of the world order. That state is governed best, which is least governed. The Upanishad proceeds, therefore, to state that the Lord created Dharma which is even the controller of the ruler. The reign of Dharma is more essential than the rule of the king. From the whole of this discussion, we can fully realise what the fundamental conception of Dharma is according to the best minds of India. It is based on truth and Ahimsa and abjures all force or coercion, brute strength, or violence. It is not based on the doctrine of liquidation of evil by destruction. It works gently through the efficacy of self-control and the realisation of the dignity of the human spirit. By Dharma is meant 'duty.' The individual's duty to his family, to his society, to God, to his own higher self, are all his Dharma. Dharma does not emphasise rights generally. This is true with the exception of the vyavahara chapter of the Dharma Sastra. The insistence on the duties of every one to each other serves the same purpose as the declaration of human rights. But it has the advantage of avoiding mutual conflict which the zealous assertion of rights may engender.

Vyasa declares in the Santi Parva, Parasara Gita, Adhyaya 300, slokas 29 to 31 that the man of Dharma works among men with wisdom in the spirit of Ahimsa, having become a realized soul himself, and that it is the observance of Dharma that distinguishes man from the lower animal.

धर्मशीलो नरो विद्वान् ईहको अनीहकोऽपि वा ।
आत्मभूतः सदा लोके चरेत्भूतान्यहिंसया ॥
यदा व्यपेतहृल्लेखं मनो भवति तस्य वै ।
नानृतं चैव भवति तदा कल्याणमृच्छति ॥
मानुषेषु महाराज धर्माधर्मौ प्रवर्ततः ।
न तथान्येषु भूतेषु मनुष्यरहितेष्विह ॥

He further says that the man of Dharma removes all the impurities of the mind and all stains from the heart, is free from falsehood and does always good to all. In the Taittiriya Aranyaka of the Krishna Yajur Veda, Navama Prapathaka, Dasamanuvaka, the Rishi declares that Dharma is the support of the whole universe. "In this world all people approach the man of Dharma for guidance. By Dharma sin is destroyed. In Dharma everything is established. Therefore they say Dharma is supreme. "धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः प्रतिष्ठा, लोके धर्मिष्ठं प्रजा उपसर्पन्ति, धर्मेण पापमपनुदति, धर्मे सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितं । तस्माद् धर्मं परमं वदन्ति—, इति." The same text emphasises five qualities previous to Dharma. Truth is mentioned first. Next comes spirituality or tapas, and then, control of the senses is emphasised and then sama or control of the mind is insisted on and lastly, dana or gift is extolled. Thus we see that the observance of Dharma is based upon the possession of the five qualities of truth, spirituality, control of the senses, control of the mind and charity. Valluvar in the Kural lays down about Dharma thus:

"மனத்துக்கண் மாசிலனாதல் அனைத்தறனாகுல நீர்பிற"

Becoming free from impurity of mind is the whole Dharma, all else is outward show.

அழுக்காறு அவா வெகுளி இன்னாச்சொல்
நான்கு மிழுக்கா வியன்றதறம்

That course of conduct which steers clear of envy, desires of the senses, anger, offensive words, is alone Dharma. The commentator Parimelalagar adds that by these two verses the nature of Dharma has been defined.

இவை யிரண்டு பாட்டாலும் அறத்தினதியல்பு கூறப்பட்டது.

The highest ideal is, therefore, according to a beautiful song in the Sama Veda, for man to surmount the four great setus or bunds by developing to perfection the corresponding four qualities. The four setus mentioned are Adana or selfish aggrandisement, Krodha or anger, Ashraddha or want of faith and untruth. The Indian sage requires that man should conquer anger by akrodha or tranquillity, selfishness by charity, want of faith by abiding faith, untruth by truth. According to Indian thought, if the individual has attained the stage when he can say of himself that he has surmounted all these four setus, he is a realised soul or Jeevan Mukta, even during his life on earth.

सेतूंस्तर दुस्तरान् । दानेन अदानं अहमस्मि प्रथमजा ऋताऽ(३)स्य सेतूंस्तर दुस्तरान् । अक्रोधेन क्रोधम् अक्रोधेन क्रोधम् । पूर्वं देवेभ्यो अमृतस्य ना (३) भायि । सेतूंस्तर दुस्तरान् श्रद्धया अश्रद्धां यो मा ददाति स इदेव मा ३ऽऽवाः । सेतूंस्तर दुस्तरान् सत्येनानृतम् अहमन्नमन्नमदन्तमा ३ द्मि । एषा गतिः एतदमृतं स्वर्गच्छ ज्योतिर्गच्छ सेतूंस्तीर्त्वा चतुरः ॥

This is the Sama song that the Jeevan Mukta sings to which the Taittiriya Upanishad makes reference:

एतत्साम गायन्नास्ते ॥ हा ३ वुहा ३ वुहा वु.

Vidyaranya in his commentary makes it clear that it is the Setu Sama song that should be sung. The crossing of the four setus is also beautifully stressed by Sri Sankaracharya in his "Sata sloki" 19th sloka. He says:

दानं ब्रह्मार्पणं यत्क्रियत इह नृभिः स्यात्क्षमाक्रोधसंज्ञा
श्रद्धास्तिक्यं च सत्यं सदिति परमतः सेतुसंज्ञं चतुष्कम् ।
तत्स्याद्बन्धाय जन्तोरिति चतुर इमान्दानपूर्वैः चतुर्भिः
तीर्त्वा श्रेयोऽमृतं च श्रयत इह नरः स्वर्गतिं ज्योतिराप्तिम् ॥

"It is the four setus that make for bondage and the crossing of these four enables one to attain immortality and eternal happiness". Vidura echoes the same sentiments in the Viduraneeti in the Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva, Adhyaya 38, sloka 73.

अक्रोधेन जयेत्क्रोधम् असाधुं साधुना जयेत् ।
जयेत् कदर्यं दानेन जयेत्सत्येन चानृतम् ॥

Anger should be conquered by peacefulness, evil-doing should be conquered by saintliness, the miser should be conquered by gifts and falsehood should be conquered by truth. In the Buddhist Dhammapada, the same verse is found in Pali.

अक्रोधेन जिने कोधं असाधुं साधुना जिने ।
जिने कदर्यं दानेन सच्चेनालीकवादिनम् ॥

Dharma is not also to be confounded with humanism. Dharma flourishes on the eternal springs of spirituality. While it has its roots on earth and worldly life, it has its summit in heaven or moksha.

'As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.'

Humanism does not concern itself with after-life or the problems of ultimate reality or godhead. While humanism emphasises the duties of man towards his fellow-beings, of love and service to mankind, it looks with unconcern on his duties to God or to his higher self. But the Dharma ideal is spiritual. The answer given by Dharmaputra in the Yaksha Prasna, Mahabharata, Vana Parva, Adhyaya 314, slokas 59, 60 points out clearly that Dharma is not merely enlightened humanism, but something more and comprises duties to God and to the spirits of one's ancestors also, which are entirely religious and spiritual. Now let me briefly relate to you the story of the Yakshaprasna. It happened once, when the Pandava brothers were wandering in the forest they became thirsty and wanted some water to quench their thirst. Sahadeva went first in search of water, found a tank and approached the water. He was confronted suddenly by a Yaksha who said that he should answer questions put to him and that if he answered satisfactorily he could drink the water, otherwise he would be struck senseless nearby. Without paying heed to the Yaksha's words, Sahadeva drank water and lay senseless on the ground. Similarly the others one by one, Nakula, Arjuna and Bhima. Lastly Dharmaputra answers the Yaksha's questions sucessfully and the Yaksha grants Yudhisthira a boon according to which his brothers are restored to their senses. Two hundred and sixteen questions are asked thus. The Yaksha puts before Yudhisthira an intriguing conundrum which Dharmaputra is said to have solved in this way, a way which enjoins every son of Hinduism to fulfil the five-fold duties or Panchamahayajnas.

यक्षः—

इन्द्रियार्थाननुभवन् बुद्धिमान् लोकपूजितः ।
सम्मतः सर्वभूतानाम् उच्छ्वसन् को न जीवति ॥

Dharmaputra answers:

धर्मपुत्रः—

देवतातिथिभृत्यानां पितॄणाम् आत्मनश्च यः ।
न निर्वपति पञ्चानाम् उच्छ्वसन् न स जीवति ॥

(Vana Adhyaya, 314, Slokas 59-60)

"Who is it that does not live, though breathing, though he enjoys the objects of the senses, is a man of intellect, is honoured by society and is accepted by all." "He who does not perform

the five Yajnas to the God, the guest, to the dependants, the manas, and to one's self, cannot be said to live though actually breathing." The saint Tiruvalluvar also lays down the Pancha maha yajnas thus:—

தென்புலத்தார் தெய்வம் விருந்து ஒக்கல்தான் என்றாங்கு
ஐம்புலத்து ஆறு ஓம்பல் தலை.

Thus the concept of Dharma is spiritual and moral. For example, the duty to a guest may be regarded as merely a social obligation which a man has to perform. It may even be a social vanity as a tea-party or dinner. But the same duty is a Dharma when performed as a Yajna, as an act of worship, in which gratitude is expressed to the guest for his condescension in accepting his hospitality and his offering of food and a Bhukta Dakshina is given to the guest, to mark the character of the food-offering as a Yajna. Dharma is not merely virtue and goodness, but is also a preparation for an after-life of eternal happiness. As Dr. Radhakrishnan says in his "Idealist View of Life" (Page 69) "When the foundations of life are shaken, when the ultimate issues face us demanding an answer, humanism does not suffice. Life is a great gift, and we have to bring to it a great mood." This spirituality alone can inspire. John Ruskin pithily puts the ordinary man's attitude to life thus: "We usually believe in immortality so far as to avoid preparation for death and in mortality, so far as to avoid preparation for anything after death." There is another important aspect of Dharma which has to be borne in mind. The essence of Dharma is its absolute objectivity. The man of Dharma has to follow it, regardless and irrespective of his rights and the duties of others to him. The great Sri Ramachandra is the embodiment of Dharma, "Ramo vigrahavan dharmah" because, regardless of his undoubted right to the throne, according to the well-recognized law of primogeniture among kings, and also by the will of the people and the wishes of his father, he did his two-fold duty of keeping his own promise and his duty to his father by enabling him to fulfil his promise to Kaikeyi, irrespective of the duty of his father to him, to make him the heir-apparent as promised in the assembly convened for that purpose, and the duty of all others to obey this well-recognized law of primogeniture.

The modern man keenly alive to his rights, sensitive of their infringement and eager to assert them at all hazards does not fully appreciate the standpoint of Indian thought, in its view of Dharma as an absolute ideal and its enunciation of the

principles of Dharma as such. In our Parliament at Delhi a few days ago you would have noted the attitude of those who opposed the Bill sought to be introduced for providing punishment for the offence of adultery commited by a married woman. There were speakers including women, who said that so long as the status of woman was not improved and polygamy was allowed, and early marriage was not prevented, woman should not be punished for the dereliction of the Dharma of chastity. Indian thinkers like Valmiki and Manu are accused of partiality when they proclaim the glorious ideal of chastity and devotion to the husband, even though the husband is vicious and wicked or affected by disease, regardless of the husband's duty to his wife—that glorious ideal of which Sita stands as the embodiment for ever. The great Swami Vivekananda has portrayed this ideal in inimitable language thus: "There is no story that has permeated this whole nation, so entered into its very life and has so tingled in every drop of blood of the race, as this ideal of Sita. Sita is the name in India for everything that is good, pure and holy, everything that in woman we call womanly." Let us think of the terrible injustice of her exile to the forest, her long suffering in separation, the harsh and cruel words of Rama to her and her agnipravesa to vouch for her chastity in Ravana's abode and her cruel abandonment again in her pregnancy by her husband for the sake of a scandalous word uttered by somebody; all these terrible and cruel wrongs she sufferred, and yet remained the ever faithful and devoted wife. She knew no bitterness. The modern mind prefers destroying evil by attacking it. But Indian thought believes in eradicating it and conquering it by suffering, *until it becomes nothing to the* sufferer. By doing so, man has the supreme spiritual satisfaction of doing his duty and attaining immortality. Thus we have the tragedy of King Harischandra enacted in ancient days on the holy soil of Benares, in quest of the absolute ideal of truth. In our own day, Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life on the altar of the absolute ideal of Ahimsa. Vyasa declares in the last verse of the Bharata Savitri which is the essence of the whole teaching of the Mahabharata:

न जातुकामान्न भयान्न लोभाद् धर्मं त्यजेद् जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ।
नित्यो धर्मः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये जीवो नित्यः हेतुरस्य त्वनित्यः ॥

Not out of passion or avarice, not even for the sake of life should one ever abandon Dharma. Dharma is everlasting.

Happiness and misery are transitory. The soul is eternal. That which embodies it is not eternal.

Indian thinkers are keenly alive to the great difficulty of determining the true Dharma or right conduct in a particular situation under the varied circumstances of the station, rank, class or functional group to which the individual belongs and on critical occasions. when conflicts of duties and ideals arise which is called Dharma Sankata. It was such a fateful crisis that presented itself to Arjuna when, as Yamunacharya says in the Gitarthasangraha,

अस्थानस्नेहकारुण्यधर्माधर्मधियाकुलम् ।
पार्थं प्रपन्नमुद्दिश्य शास्त्रावतरणं कृतम् ॥

the mind of Arjuna was perplexed to the extreme about Dharma or Adharma, of his duty to fight, by friendship and compassion entirely out of place in a battlefield and the great Gita-sastra arose for mankind with a view to allay his fears and remove his perplexity.

Dharma is of various categories according to the class, station in life, profession or occupation of men. Yogi Vijnanesvara in the Mitakshara refers to the six kinds of Dharmas. They can be classified mainly into Sadharana Dharma and Visesha Dharma, and the Visesha Dharma is again sub-divided into Varna Dharma, Ashrama Dharma, Varnashrama Dharma, Guna Dharma and Nimitta Dharma, which translated into modern terminology are the duties of one's class, station in life, of one's particular profession or occupation and the expiations for dereliction of duty.

Manu refers in the 6th chapter, sloka 92, to the ten Dharmas as: दशलक्षणको धर्मः ।

धृतिः क्षमा दमोऽस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
धीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दशकः धर्मलक्षणम् ॥

The Samanya Dharmas are Ahimsa, Satya, Asteya, Sauca, Indriyanigraha, Truth, Non-violence, Non-stealing, Purity of body, mind and speech, and self-control. Indian thinkers also recognize an absolute ideal and a relatively lower ideal of Dharma. The absolute ideal is known as "Mahavrata". The Yogasutra of Patanjali defines it as:

जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नाः सार्वभौमाः महाव्रतम् ।

"That which is universal and unaffected by jati, fundamental nature of a thing, place, time, and circumstance." Vyasa in his commentary on this sutra points out how this absolute ideal is not for all individuals in society. The Hindu sages and moralists are keenly alive to the limitations of practical life and they speak of a relatively lower standard. Sri Krishna in the Santi Parva illustrates the principle of the exceptions and limitations to the absolute standard by referring to the story of one Kausika who, after taking the vow of speaking the truth at all times and at all hazards, revealed the hiding place of a person who sought his shelter to the highway robbers who were in search of that person and became responsible for that person being killed by them. Speaking truth on that occasion is not to be commended as it results in harm to another individual. At the same time there may be occasions as when one is a witness in a court of law speaking truth even though it may result in punishment being inflicted on another person. The whole test is whether the particular conduct is conducive to the welfare and stability of society.

In regard to the absolute ideal of Ahimsa there are well-known limitations. Inflicting injury in self-defence and war for the enforcement of just rights are recognized as Dharma. Indian thought recognized war as Svadharma of a particular section of society. Himsa in Yajna has been recognized as a Sastraic exception to Ahimsa. All these are so recognized as in the opinion of our thinkers they are conducive to the welfare of society as a whole. But humanity by its bitter experience of devastating wars has lost faith in wars as waged and conducted now, as the arbiter of rights between nations. Later Indian thought has also not been enthusiastic about the killing of animals in Yajna. The possibilities of difference of opinion as to the right course in a given set of circumstances are indeed very great. Hence the Mahabharata says:

सूक्ष्मा गतिर्हि धर्मस्य, सूक्ष्मत्वात् न स विज्ञातुं शक्यते बहुनिर्णयः ।

The way of Dharma is subtle and complicated.

तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः स्मृतयो विभिन्नाः
नैको मुनिः यस्य मतं प्रमाणम् ।
धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां
महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥

There is no finality to intellectual reasoning, there is conflict among smritis, there is no one thinker whose views are authority. The principle of Dharma is hidden and subtle. The only way is to follow the great ones of culture. The Lord in the Gita said:

किं कर्म किमकर्मेति कवयोऽप्यत्र मोहिताः ।

What is right and what is not, in this, even seers and prophets get deluded. Kalidasa speaks of the authority of one's own conscience—a conscience fully developed by culture and suffused with love of all beings:

सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ।

Manu refers to स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः and to हृदयाभ्यनुज्ञा ।

I shall now proceed to consider the inter-relation of the four purusharthas and their relative importance according to Indian thought. Dharma, Artha and Kama go together. They are known as Trivarga and Moksha stands by itself. As Moksha is the ideal mostly to be attained in after-life, though, as already pointed out the possibility of Jivanmukti is recognized by some schools of thought as the Advaita, it is left alone, and dealt with apart from the other three which pertain to life on earth. That is why the saint Tiruvalluvar, in the immortal Kural, dealt with the objects of life under the three captions of Aram, Porul and Inbam though he comprehended the ideal of Moksha under the subheading of Aram, Turavaram, Meyunarthal, even as the Mahabharata which speaks of Moksha Dharma.

The Smritis, though they deal with Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, have come to be known as Dharma Sastra, because, of the four purusharthas, Dharma is the primary objective for man and Artha and Kama are secondary, to be controlled by Dharma and are properly to be the fruit of the pursuit of Dharma.

Vijnanesvara in his commentary Mitakshara, on Yajnavalkya Smriti explaining the essence of Dharma Sastra, says:

तत्र यद्यपि धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाः शास्त्रेणानेन प्रतिपाद्यन्ते तथापि धर्मस्य प्राधान्याद्धर्मग्रहणम् । प्राधान्यं च धर्ममूलत्वादितरेषाम् । न च वक्तव्यं धर्ममूलो अर्थः अर्थमूलो धर्म इति अविशेष इति । यतो अर्थमन्तरेणापि जपतपस्तीर्थयात्रादिना धर्मनिष्पत्तिः । अर्थलेशोऽपि न धर्ममन्तरेणेति । एवं काममोक्षावपीति ॥

The Mitakshara is further of opinion that the source of Artha is Dharma, but not vice versa, for Dharma can be performed without the help of Artha, for instance by Japa and Tapas. But without Dharma there will be no bit of Artha. Similarly Kama and Moksha. Nilakantha Dikshita echoes the same idea in a fine verse thus: "If I have not sufficient wealth, I shall abandon the Dharma which requires wealth for its performance. There are many that can be performed by bodily activities. Even if the body is weary, there can be no loss of Dharma by that. We shall fix our thoughts once at least on Siva and realize our objective."

अर्था न स्युर्यदि विजह्िमो धर्ममर्थैकसाध्यं
कायक्लेशैः कतिकतिविधः साधनीयो हि धर्मः ।
कायः श्रान्तो यदि भवति कस्तावता धर्मलोपः
चित्तं दत्वा सकृदपि शिवे चिन्तितं साधयामः ॥

Manu discusses the question, which of the three or whether all the three should be the objectives of life. After referring to the opinion of some that Dharma and Artha are the only good in life and to that of others that Artha and Kama are the highest good and of some others that Artha is the sole aim of life and of others, that Dharma is the only good, he concludes that virtue, wealth and desire form combinedly the good in life.

(*Manu 2, sloka 224*)

धर्मार्थावुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थौ धर्म एव च ।
अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयः त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थितिः ।

In the Ramayana, Ayodhya Kanda, Kacchit Sarga, one of the questions put by Rama to Bharata is as follows:—

कच्चिदर्थं च धर्मं च कामं च जयतां वर ।
विभज्य काले कालज्ञस्सर्वान्भरत सेवसे ॥

"Do you work for all the three, Artha, Dharma and Kama, after dividing your time among the three appropriately?" This idea proceeds on the principle that all the three purusharthas are essential and they together fully comprehend the aspiration of the integrated personality of man. In the Mahabharata, Santi, Apad-Dharma portion, Adhyaya 146, Vyasa gives a very interesting account of a discussion between the five Pandava brothers and Vidura as regards the relative importance of the four purusharthas. Vidura stresses the supremacy

of Dharma and next only are Artha and Kama as Dharma is the foundation for Artha and Kama. While Arjuna emphasises the need for Artha without which both Dharma and Kama cannot be achieved, Bhimasena shows the importance of Kama. The twins Nakula and Sahadeva clearly lay down that all the three must be pursued by man and are equally important.

धर्मार्थकामास्समसेव सेव्याः ।
यो ह्येकभक्तः स नरो जघन्यः ॥ ३९ ॥
द्वयोस्तु सक्तं प्रवदन्ति मध्यमं स उत्तमो यो निरतस्त्रिवर्गे ।
विभज्य कालं परिसेवमानः........॥ ४० ॥

As you may note, the last words of his verse are similar to the words already referred to in the Ramayana. The same idea of the equal importance for man of all the four purusharthas is beautifully expressed in a poetic simile by Kalidasa in the Raghuvamsa,

स चतुर्धा बभौ व्यस्तः प्रसवः पृथिवीपतेः ।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां अवतार इवाङ्गभाक् ॥

10 Sarga, Sloka 85

wherein he likens the four sons of Dasaratha to the four purusharthas, Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha and says that the four brothers together shine as the embodiments of the four purusharthas. In Raghuvamsa, 14th sarga, sloka 21, he says that Rama pursued Dharma, Artha and Kama equally as was his attitude towards his three brothers.

पितुर्नियोगाद् वनवासमेवं निस्तीर्य रामः प्रतिपन्नराज्यः ।
धर्मार्थकामेषु समां प्रपेदे यथा तथैवावरजेषु वृत्तिम् ॥

14 Sarga, Sloka 21

Vyasa in the Sabha Parva, Narada-Dharmaputra-samvada, indicates the period of time every day for the pursuit of each one, Dharma, Artha and Kama and the period of the age of man for every one of the three. Morning should be devoted to Dharma, daytime to Artha and the rest to Kama. Period of boyhood may be devoted to Kama, middle age to Artha, and old age to Dharma.

धर्मं पूर्वं धनं मध्ये जघन्ये काममाचरेत् ।
अहन्यनुचरेदेवमेष शास्त्रकृतो विधिः ॥

कामं पूर्वे धनं मध्ये जघन्ये धर्ममाचरेत् ।
वयस्यनुचरेदेवमेष शास्त्रकृतो विधिः ॥
न धर्मपर एव स्यात् न चार्थपरमो नरः ।
न कामपर एव स्यात् सर्वान्सेवेत पण्डितः ॥

The division of the period should not be understood strictly in the sense that each should be devoted entirely to the exclusion of the others, but means only it should be largely devoted to the particular purushartha indicated in the verse. The Vishnu Purana also lays down that the three purusharthas should be pursued by every individual thus. "Rising up early morning with clear intellect, one should think of Dharma and of Artha, not inconsistent with it and of Kāma without violation of the two. Your attitude must be the same to all the three, lest both seen and unseen results should be destroyed. If Dharma is to be endangered, then both Artha and Kama should be abandoned. Even Dharma may be abandoned, if it is opposed to public opinion and if it is not conducive to the happiness of society."

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थाय मनसा मतिमान् नृप ।
विबुद्धः चिन्तयेद्धर्ममर्थं चास्याविरोधिनम् ॥
अपीडया तयोः काममुभयोरपि चिन्तयेत् ।
दृष्टादृष्टविनाशाय त्रिवर्गे समदर्शनः ॥
परित्यजेदर्थकामौ धर्मपीडाकरौ नृप ।
धर्मं चाप्य सुखोदर्कं लोकविद्विष्टमेव वा ॥

While stressing the equal importance of Dharma, Artha, and Kama for man, Indian thinkers have always advocated the principle that the pursuit of Artha and Kama should be regulated by the requirements and injunctions of Dharma. They condemn the unrestrained passionate pursuit of either Artha or Kama regardless of Dharma, which they regard, as the substratum for the realisation of the aspiration by man of Artha and Kama. As I have already pointed out, they regard Dharma as the upholder and maintainer of society and world order and the individual can never aspire for the enjoyment of wealth and happiness unless the world order and the stability of society are maintained. In the third of the four verses forming the Bharata Savitri mentioned towards the end of Mahabharata as the essence of the teaching of that

great work, Vyasa emphasises passionately the supreme importance of Dharma as follows:—

ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येषः न च कश्चित् शृणोति माम् ।
धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥

"With uplifted arm, I cry from the housetops, but none hears me. It is from Dharma that Artha and Kama result, why then is Dharma not followed." He recognises here that Artha and Kama satisfy the psychological tendencies of man and they form essentially the two fundamental aspirations of every individual. At the same time he firmly enunciates the principle that Dharma should regulate the pursuit of man for the realisation of the rational aspiration of Artha and Kama. Saint Valluvar echoes the same sentiment in the following Kural:

சிறப்பீனும் செல்வமுமீனும் அறத்தினூங்கு ஆக்கும் எல்லா வுயிர்க்கு.

Is there anything higher in life than Dharma? It secures Moksha and Artha. The Purananuru also says the same thing:

சிறப்புடை மரபிற் பொருளும் இன்பமும் அறத்து வழிபடுந் தோற்றம் போல்.

He who pursues Dharma secures Moksha, Artha and Kama. Sita in the Ramayana reminds her husband on his entering the Dandaka forest for fulfilling his vow of exterminating the Rakshasas, that from Dharma, Artha results and also sukha or Kama. Dharma is the the essence of the universe.

धर्मादर्थः प्रभवते धर्मात्प्रभवते सुखम् ।
धर्मेण लभते सर्वं धर्मसारमिदं जगत् ॥

Ramayana, Aranyakanda, 9 Sarga, 30 Sloka.

Nilakantha, the great commentator of the Mahabharata, in one of his introductory verses says, that when sublimated by Dharma, Artha and Kama take a loftier shape. Petty-minded men pursue Artha and Kama for the satisfaction of sensual enjoyments and desires; and pursue even Dharma for the sake of material objects here and hereafter, for the pleasures of Svarga. But great men pursue Dharma so that their minds may be purified, and aspire for wealth so that religious sacrifices may be performed for the welfare of mankind and for the sustenance of their lives, and eagerly desire for the attainment of moksha and Nilakantha says that the way of the petty-minded and of the great ones are illustrated by the story of the lives of the 'Dharthrastras and the Pandavas.

धर्मादित्रयमर्थकामकरणप्रीत्यर्थमित्यल्पकाः
धीशुद्धिक्रतुजीवनार्थकृतया मुक्त्यर्थमित्युत्तमाः ।
एतत्पाण्डव-धार्तराष्ट्र-चरितव्याख्याभिषाद् दर्शितम्
येनासौ निजवाक्यजातहृदयं मह्यं ददात्वादरात् ॥

The great law-giver Manu lays down as follows:

परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ ।
धर्मं चाप्यसुखोदर्कं लोकविक्रुष्टमेव च ॥

4 Adhyaya, 176 Sloka.

Let every individual avoid the acquisition of wealth and the gratification of his desires if they are opposed to Dharma and avoid also those acts of Dharma which are opposed to and hurt the feelings of the general public and lead not to joy even in afterlife. The renowned poet Bhavabhuti describes the man of real Vedic culture thus:

ते श्रोत्रियाः तत्त्वविनिश्चयाय भूरिश्रुतं शाश्वतमाद्रियन्ते ।
इष्टाय पूर्ताय च कर्मणेऽर्थान् दारानपत्याय तपोऽर्थमायुः ॥

Malatimadhava,

Wealth and material comforts are desired by him for the sake of service and charity to his fellow-beings and for fulfilment of his religious duties. Married life is desired only for the sake of progeny and long life is wished for the practice of spirituality. Similarly, Kalidasa in the Raghuvamsa, describing the greatness of the Kings of Raghu line says, that they acquired wealth for the sake of giying and courted the pleasures of married life only for the sake of progeny.

त्यागाय संभृतार्थानां सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् ।
यशसे विजिगीषूणां प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम् ॥

Raghuvamsa, 1 Sarga, 7 Sloka.

The great Indian lady moralist Auvvai states that Dharma consists in the making of gifts and wealth should be acquired without doing evil and Kama is pure love and regard subsisting between the two life-partners who are of one mind and Moksha is renunciation of all the preceding three purusharthas by thinking upon the Supreme.

ஈதலறம் தீவினைவிட்டீட்டல் பொருள் எஞ்ஞான்றும் காதலிருவர் கருத்தொருமித்து ஆதரவு பட்டதே இன்பம். பரனை நினைந்து இம்மூன்றையும் விட்டதே பேரின்பம்.

In the fourth Adhyaya of the Manu Smriti, the great law-giver lays down that every individual may earn his livelihood only by acts which are not reprehensible and not opposed to Dharma and which do not entail much suffering. (sloka 3).

यात्रामात्रप्रसिध्यर्थं स्वैः कर्मभिरगर्हितैः ।
अक्लेशेन शरीरस्य कुर्वीत धनसंचयम् ॥

Again in sloka 15, he says that:

नेहेतार्थान् प्रसङ्गेन न विरुद्धेन कर्मणा ।
न विद्यमानेष्वर्थेषु नार्त्यामपि यतस्ततः ॥

We must not earn money by acts which involve the pleasures of the senses nor by forbidden methods; whether one is in want or possessed of means one must not try to acquire wealth from any and every source without discrimination. Tiruvalluvar says:

அறத்தான் வருவதே யின்பம் மற்றெல்லாம் புறத்த புகழுமில.

"That is only Inbam which springs from Dharma, all else, though Inbam, is really misery and is not worthy of repute."

From the foregoing quotations it is clear that according to Indian thought, Dharma regulates both the acquisition of wealth and material comforts and satisfaction of our desires. Valmiki puts in the mouth of Rama the ideas contained in the above verses when he gave advice to Lakshmana on the eve of his banishment to forest. Rama says that it is found by experience in the world that Dharma, Artha and Kama are attained as the fruit of the pursuit of Dharma alone and those acts which give rise to realisation of these three purusharthas are to be followed, much in the same manner as by marriage one is able to attain the three purusharthas on account of a beloved and obedient wife who has given birth to a good son.

धर्मार्थकामाः किल जीवलोके समीक्षिता धर्मफलोदयेषु ।
ये तत्र सर्वे स्युः असंशयं मे भार्येव वश्याभिमता सुपुत्रा ॥

But if all the three purusharthas cannot be attained by any act, then, at least that which is conducive to Dharma should be followed. If, on the other hand, one is bent upon the pursuit of wealth alone, he becomes the enemy of all and he who is determined to be a hedonist does not merit any praise.

यस्मिंस्तु सर्वे स्युरसन्निविष्टा धर्मो यतस्यात्तदुपक्रमेत ।
द्वेष्यो भवत्यर्थपरो हि लोके कामात्मता खल्वपि न प्रशस्ता ॥

The ideal of leading a life of Dharma alone, without caring for the pursuit of wealth and even at the sacrifice of material happiness is only for the chosen few who are worthy of the appellation of Rishis. That is why Rama boldly proclaimed to Kaikeyi that he is determined to lead a life of Dharma like the Rishis and that he is not intent upon Artha at all in his conduct through life (*vide* Ayodhyakanda).

नाहमर्थपरो देवि लोकमावस्तुमुत्सहे ।
विद्धि मामृषिभिस्तुल्यं केवलं धर्ममास्थितम् ॥

Vyasa in the Mahabharata, Vana Parva, has put the same idea in an arresting manner thus. He classifies men into four kinds, those who care for material happiness in the present life and do not care for after-life; secondly, those who do not care for material happiness at all during their life on earth but prepare themselves for eternal happiness after death; then those who care both for material happiness here and for happiness hereafter; and lastly those who do not care for either happiness here or in the hereafter. For the first category he gives the illustration of the Rajaputra who leads a life of material happiness here only and does not care for the future. For the second category he gives the example of the Rishi. For the third he cites the illustration of the good man of the world and for the last category he gives the example of the cruel hunter.

इहैवैकस्य नो तत्र तत्रैवैकस्य नो इह ।
इह चामुत्र चान्यस्य नेह नामुत्र कस्यचित् ॥
राजपुत्र चिरं जीव मा जीव ऋषिपुत्रक ।
जीव वा मर वा साधो व्याध मा जीव मा मर ॥

Thus Dharma gives coherence and direction to the different activities of life. It is a complete code of life, the harmony of the whole man, who finds the right way for the just law of living. But higher than Dharma is the great ideal of spiritual freedom which ennobles the whole life of the individual and the whole order of society. As G. H. Mees puts it in his "Dharma and Society", Moksha is the kingdom of God, while Dharma is the Kingdom of God on earth. Hence according to Indian

thought the four purusharthas exhaust all the elements of the fundamental aspirations of an individual who wants to lead a good and well-ordered life on earth. While the supreme aim of social order is to train human beings to attain a state of complete freedom from all bondage including the shackles of the human body, and of supreme everlasting happiness unmixed with any misery or suffering, it is not divorced from temporal ends for a development of social conditions which will enable every individual to attain a high standard of moral, material and intellectual life, which will be in harmony with the good and peace of all and be consistent with the dignity and liberty of the human personality. The pursuit of these four purusharthas must be based on the fundamental principles of truth, Ahimsa and compassion for all, self-sacrifice and self-control. The great message and the clarion call of the sages of the Upanishad to mankind is summed up in three words each beginning with the letter "Da", namely "Dana, Daya and Dama". A beautiful story is told in the Upanishad. Once upon a time the Devas, Manushyas and Rakshasas approached Prajapati for advice. He vanished from their presence and there was only a peal of thunder, similar to the sound "Da, Da, Da". Each group interpreted this as advice summed up in a word beginning with Da, in accordance with what it felt it lacked in. The Devas who lacked self-control interpreted it as "Dama", the Rakshasas who were notorious for cruelty, interpreted it as "Daya" or compassion, and the men whose characteristic was the possessive instinct interpreted it as "Dana" or charity. All the three groups met and communicated to each other the three words denoting the message of Prajapati. Sankara very wisely observes in his commentary that all the three groups are found among men and the message contained in the three words, Dana, Daya and Dama is for humanity. Thus the Vedic sage drew his profound inspiration from the sounds of pealing thunder which reverberated throughout the world. These three words are fit to be written in letters of gold, not only in the portals of the United Nations Organisation working for world peace and for common humanity, but also on the tablet of the heart of every individual in society. The nations composing humanity also should lay this message to their hearts. Otherwise there is no hope for humanity and no prospect for the peace of the world. We find that the same memorable message inscribed in

enduring rock in the Heliodorus Column erected at Besnagar, a place 30 miles north-east of Bhopal. This granite pillar was erected, as found in the inscription, by Heliodorus, a Greek, who calls himself a Bhagavata, sent as messenger by Antialkidas of Syria. The last portion is in Prakrit: Trini amrtapadani (Su)-anuttitani, nayanti Svaga Dama chaga apramada. These three are the same as found in Sanatsujatiya of Mahabharata:

दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् ।

Self control, renunciation and faultlessness, these three are the foundations of immortality (*vide* my article, Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XV, part iii). Indian thinkers have by their clear analysis of the fundamental aspirations of the human heart and by the enunciation of the high ideals which man should possess and for which he should work as a fundamental unit of society and as a citizen of the world, have made a unique contribution to the thought of mankind.

I feel, therefore, that we, sons and daughters of this ancient land of Bharatavarsha, should not neglect the study of ancient Indian thought and culture but should do so in a scientific spirit and that we need not go in search of the thought of other countries for the noble ideals of life. So long ago, Manu said "Learn the Dharma which has been always followed by good men of culture whose minds are free from attachment and hate and which your heart also will endorse.

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिः नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।

हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातः यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ॥

Let me, therefore, conclude with the memorable words of the Convocation Address delivered by my father in 1911 at this University: "With brains enlarged and hearts expanded, with character, more valuable than intellect, and trained capacity, greater than knowledge, go ye, brethren, in the language of the Mahavagga and wander forth for the gain of the many, the welfare of the many, in compassion for the world, for the good, the gain, for the welfare of man. Wherever you go and whatever you do, I entreat you to treasure in your hearts that priceless refrain of Hindu Sacred literature thrice repeated on every occasion to secure its virtue on three different planes of human endeavour शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥"

233. பொழுதுதலை வைத்த கையறு காலை
இறந்த போலக் கிளக்குங் கிளவி
மடனே வருத்த மருட்கை மிகுதியொடு
அவைநாற் பொருட்க ணிகழு மென்ப.

Poḻutu-talai vaitta kai-y-aṟu kālai
Iṟanta pōla-k kiḷakkuṅ kiḷavi
Maṭaṉ-ē varutta maruṭkai mikutiyoṭu
Avai-nāṟ poruṭka ṇikaḻu m-eṉpa.

They say that, when the lady is in distress at the approach of a season, her expression that the season has passed is due to ignorance, wonder or bewilderment and uncontrollable state.

Note 1. Naccinārkkiniyar's meaning is totally different. When the lady is in distress in the evening, she is subject to the four *mey-p-pāṭukaḷ-maṭaṉ, varuttam, maruṭkai* and *mikuti.* Expression on such occasions appears to suggest that the situation is beyond control.

234. இரந்து குறையுற்ற கிழவனைத் தோழி
நிரம்ப நீக்கி நிறுத்த லன்றியும்
வாய்மை கூறலும் பொய்தலை பெய்தலும்
நல்வகை யுடைய நயத்திற் கூறியும்
பல்வகை யானும் படைக்கவும் பெறுமே.

Irantu kuṟai-y-uṟṟa kiḻavaṉai-t tōḻi
Nirampa nīkki niṟutta l-aṉṟiyum
Vāymai kūṟal-um poy-talai-p peytal-um
Nal-vakai y-uṭaiya nayattiṟ kūṟiyum
Pal-vakai yāṉum paṭaikka-v-um peṟum-ē.

The lady's friend may, when the lover informs her of his hardship, try to avoid his company, speak truth, or utter lies, may mock at him in a pleasant manner and adopt different ways.

Note 1. This *sūtra* forms the supplement of the 11th *sūtra* of the *Kaḷaviyal.*

235. [1]உயர்மொழிக் கிளவி யுறழுங் கிளவி
ஐயக் கிளவி யாடூஉவிற் குரித்தே.
Uyar-moḻi-k kiḷavi y-uṟaḻuṅ kiḷavi
Aiya-k kiḷavi y-āṭūuviṟ k-uritt-ē.

1. உயர்மொழிக்கிளவி (இளம்.) உயர் மொழிக்குரிய (நச்.)

Both the lover and the lady-love may use extolling expression; expression of doubt is the sole property of the lover alone.

Note 1. Naccaṉārkkiṉiyar gives the first line a totally different meaning:—Slander is possible to heighten love. But he agrees with Iḷampūraṇar in the interpretation of the following 237th *sūtra.*

236. உறுக ணோம்ப றன்னியல் பாகலின்
உரிய தாகுந் தோழிக ணுரனே.
Uṟu-ka ṇ-ōmpa ṟaṉṉiyal p-ākaliṉ
Uriya t-ākun tōḻika ṇ-uraṉ-ē.

Sound mind is necessary to the lady's friend, since she has the duty of dispelling the lady's distress.

Note 1. This is an exception to the 7th *sūtra* of the *Kaḷaviyal.*

237. உயர் மொழிக் கிளவியு முரியவா லவட்கே.
Uyar-moḻi-k kiḷavi-y-u m-uriya-vā l-avaṭk-ē.

She has the right even to extol (the lover and the lady).

238. வாயிற் கிளவி வெளிப்படக் கிளத்தல்
தாவின் றுரிய தத்தங் கூற்றே.
Vāyiṟ kiḷavi veḷippaṭa-k kiḷattal
Tā-v-iṉ ṟ-uriya tattaṅ kūṟṟ-ē.

It is not prohibited, but it is allowed for the interceders to speak plainly their views.

239. உடனுறை யுவமஞ் சுட்டுநகை சிறப்பெனக்
கெடலரு மரபி னுள்ளுறை யைந்தே.
Uṭaṉ-uṟai y-uvamañ cuṭṭu-nakai ciṟapp-eṉa-k
Keṭal-aru marapi-ṉ-uḷḷuṟai y-aint-ē.

Uḷḷuṟai or suggested meaning is, from superior tradition, of five kinds—*uṭaṉ-uṟai, uvamam, cuṭṭu, nakai* and *ciṟappu.*

Note 1. *Uṭaṉ-uṟai* may correspond to *vastu-dhvani, uvamam* to *upamā-dhvani, cuṭṭu* to *arthāntaranyāsa-dhvani, nakai* to *bhāva-dhvani* like *hāsa.*

Note 2. *Uṭaṉ-uṟai* and *iṟaicci* are taken to be one by Naccaṉārkkiṉiyar.

240. அந்தமில் சிறப்பி னாகிய[1] வின்பம்
தன்வயின் வருதலும் வகுத்த பண்பே.

1. ஆகிய (இளம்.) ; ஆக்கிய (நச்.)

Antam-il ciṟappi ṉ-ākiya v-iṉpam
Taṉ-vayiṉ varutal-um vakutta paṇp-ē.

The delectation coming from a series of superior experiences is also included under *uḷḷuṟai*

Note 1. This *sūtra* is a clear evidence of Tolkāppiyaṉar's recognition of *rasadhvani.*

Note 2. *Taṉ* in *taṉ-vayiṉ* refers to the lover according to Naccinārkkiṉiyar. It is not very happy.

241. மங்கல மொழியு மவையல்[1] மொழியும்
மாறி லாண்மையிற் சொல்லிய மொழியும்
கூறிய[2] மருங்கிற் கொள்ளு மென்ப.
Maṅkala moḻi-y-u-avaiyaṉ moḻi-y-um
Māṟi l-āṇmaiyiṟ colliya moḻi-y-um
Kūṟiya maruṅkiṟ koḷḷu m-eṉpa.

They say that euphemistic expressions like the use of auspicious words for inauspicious ones, words of decency for obscene words and figurative expressions to show bravery, etc., come within *uḷḷuṟai.*

Note 1. Naccinārkkiṉiyar's interpretation is totally different. Words of the lady and her friend wishing for the safety of the lover accusing him of cheat and reviling him may be taken under *vaḻu-v-amaiti.*

242. சினனே பேதைமை நிம்பிரி நல்குரவு
அனைநால் வகையுஞ் சிறப்பொடு வருமே.
Ciṉaṉ-ē pētaimai nimpiri nalkuravu
Aṉai-nāl vakai-y-uñ ciṟappoṭu varum-ē.

From the suggested *ciṟappu,* anger, ignorance, jealousy and poverty—these four—may further be suggested,

243. அன்னை யென்னை யென்றலு முளவே
தொன்னெறி முறைமை சொல்லினு மெழுத்தினும்
தோன்றா மரபின வென்மனார் புலவர்.

Aṉṉai y-eṉṉai y-eṉṟal-u m-uḷa-v-ē
Toṉṉeṟi muṟaimai colliṉu m-eḻuttiṉum
Tōṉṟā marapiṉa v-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that traditionally the words *aṉṉai* (by the lady to the friend—vice versa) and *eṉṉai* (by both to the

1. அவையல் (இளம்.); வைஇய (நச்.)
2. கூறிய (இளம்.); கூறியல் (நச்.)

lover) were in use though they are not so mentioned in the *Eluttatikāram* and the *Collatikāram*.

244. ஒப்பு முருவும் வெறுப்பு மென்றா
கற்பு மேறு மெழிலு மென்றா
சாயலு நாணு மடனு மென்றா
நோயும் வேட்கையு நுகர்வு மென்றாங்கு
ஆவயின் வருஉங் கிளவி யெல்லாம்
நாட்டியன் மரபி னெஞ்சுகொளி னல்லது
காட்ட லாகாப் பொருள வென்ப
இமையோர் தேஎத்து மெறிகடல் வரைப்பினும்
அவையில் கால மின்மை யான.

Oppu m-uru-v-um veṟuppu m-eṉṟā
Kaṟpu m-ēr-u m-eḻil-u m-eṉṟā
Çāyal-u nāṇ-u maṭaṉ-u m-eṉṟā
Nōy-um vēṭkai-y-u nukarvu m-eṉṟāṅkū
Ā-vayiṉ varūuṅ kiḷavi y-ellām
Nāṭṭiyaṉ marapi ṉeñcu-koḷi ṉ-allatu
Kāṭṭa l-ākā-p poruḷa v-eṉpa
Imaiyōr tēettu-m-eṟi-kaṭal varaippiṉ-um
Avai-y-il kāla m-iṉmai yāṉ-a.

The meanings of the words *oppu, uru, veṟuppu, kaṟpu ēr eḻil, cāyal, nāṇ, maṭaṉ, nōy, vēṭkai, nukarvu,* etc., can be only understood by the mind, since there is no time when they are not found in Heaven and Earth and not explained in words.

Note. The last two lines are read as a separate *sūtra* both by Iḷampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar.

Poruḷ-iyal ends.

INTRODUCTION

Śākkōṭṭai is a village in the Tiruppattur *tālūk* of the Rāmanāthapuram district and is situated about 16 miles due east of Tiruppattūr. The village contains several temples of which the biggest and the most important is the temple of Śiva who is worshipped under the name of Vīra-śēkharīśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyanār. The inscriptions[1] edited below are engraved on the walls of the *Mahāmaṇḍapa, ardha-maṇḍapa* and the central shrine of this Śiva temple. Except certain portions of the central shrine and the *ardhamaṇḍapa* the rest of the temple seems to have undergone renovation in the course of which many inscribed stones have been removed from their proper places and built again into walls at different places with the result that a few of the inscriptions have become disjointed and rendered incomplete.

From those inscriptions which are fully preserved, we learn that Śāykkaḷūr was the name by which Śākkōṭṭai was known in the past and the village is described as situated in the territorial division of Perumbūr-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu. They refer to the god of the temple as Vīraśēkhārīśvaramuḍaiya-Nāyanār, a name which persists even to this day. The records, however, do not give any information about the origin of the temple, its date or its founder. The majority of the inscriptions belongs to the Pāṇḍya kings of the 13th century A.D. and later; of the rest, one (No. 34) is dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler, Mallikārjuna, in the Śaka year 1376 (=A.D. 1454). Among the Pāṇḍya kings mentioned in the inscriptions, the earliest that we can identify is Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1216-1239) who bears the well-known title of *Śōnāḍuvaḻaṅgi aruḷiya* (Ins. No. 16). Since the record of this king mentions god Vīraśēkharamuḍaiyār,

1. These inscriptions were copied at the instance of the Sarasvati Sangam, Puduvayal, Ramanathapuram District, whose Secretary informed the Government Epigraphist for India of their existence. In 1945-46, Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, visited the place and copied some of the inscriptions. Next year, I copied the rest. The Sarasvati Sangam proposed to publish these records but later gave up the attempt. We are greatly thankful to the Sangam for having brought these inscriptions to our notice and for the help rendered to us by the Secretary of the Sangam when copying them.

we may believe that this temple and the deity existed before the advent of this ruler. If one should suppose that the deity was named after a king or chief of that name who installed it, we have some reason to ascribe the installation of the deity, if not the foundation of the temple, to the Chief, Vīraśēkharaṉ *alias* Adaḷaiyūrnāḍāḷvāṉ who figures in a record of the 49th year of the reign (=1119 A.D.) of the Chōḷa king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga I at Kuṉṉakkuḍi not far from Śākkōṭṭai in the same Tiruppattur *tāluk*. (A.R.E. No. 32 of 1909: *Report*, Part II, para 23).

The accompanying list gives the names of the kings who figure in the inscriptions at Śākkōṭṭai. Among the chiefs of lesser importance who find mention in the records, the following are noteworthy: (1) Tirukkaḷippālaiyuḍaiyāṉ *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa Adaḷaiyūrnāḍāḷvāṉ (Ins. No. 4), (2) Daṉmaṉ Kampaṉ *alias* Dharmarāyaṉ who bore the title *Tappilāvāchakaṉ* (Ins. No. 5) and (3) Udaiyaṉ Periyanāyaṉ *alias* Gāṅgēyaṉ (Ins. Nos. 9 and 12).

The following kings are represented in the inscriptions at Śākkōṭṭai:—

	Name of King	*General No.*
	PĀṆḌYAS.	
1.	Kulaśēkhara (of acc. date A.D. 1237) ...	15
2.	Kulaśēkhara (unidentified)	2, 3, 4, 6 and 7
3.	Kulaśēkhara, Māṛavarman (unidentified)	8 and 12
4.	Kulaśēkhara I, Māṛavarman (A.D. 1268-1312)	10, 19, 29 and 30
5.	Śrīvaladēva, Māṛavarman (unidentified) ...	11 and 20
6.	Sundara-Pāṇḍya (unidentified) ...	9 and 23
7.	Sundara-Pāṇḍya, Jaṭāvarman (unidentified)	25
8.	Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, Māṛavarman (1216-39 A.D.) ...	16
9.	Sundara-Pāṇḍya, Māṛavarman (unidentified)	17 and 21
10.	Vira-Pāṇḍya (unidentified) ...	1
11.	Vira-Pāṇḍya, Māṛavarman (unidentified)	5
	VIJAYANAGARA KINGS.	
12.	Mallikārjuna ...	33
	MISCELLANEOUS.	
13.	Miscellaneous Chiefs	13, 14, 18, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32 and 34

INSCRIPTIONS

No. 1

(A. R. No. 98 of 1945-46)

South wall of the *Mahāmaṇḍapa,* right of entrance, Śēkhariśvara temple

Vīra-Pāṇḍya: 36th year of reign

இந்தக் கல்வெட்டு பாண்டிய இராசனாகிய வீரபாண்டிய தேவருடைய அரசாட்சியில் 36-ம் ஆண்டு கார்த்திகை ௴ 25-ம் தேதியில் ஸ்தாபிக்கப் பட்டது. இவர், ஸ்ரீவீரசேகரீசுரமுடையார், கோவிலில் 'பெரிய முதலியார் சந்தி' என்கின்ற ஓர் விசேடத் திருவாராதனைப் பூசை நடத்துவதற்காகச் செய்த ஏற்பாடுகளைக் கூறுகிறது. இப் பூசைக்கும் மற்ற இரண்டு நந்தாவிளக்கு எரிப்பதர்க்கும் வேண்டிய செலவிற்காக பொழிகால் நாட்டின் விருபநாராயணநல்லூர் என்கிற கிராமத்தைத் தானம் செய்ததாக எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளது. தானம் செய்யப்பட்ட கிராமம் அரசனுடைய காணியாக, அதாவது, சுயபோகமாக இருந்ததாகவும், இதனில் சில நிலங்கள் 'பழந்தேவதானமாக' இருந்தபடியால், அவைகளை நீக்கி, நின்றவை சக்கரவர்த்தி மூவேந்தவேளான் பக்கல் கொடுத்தார். அவன் அவைகளை உழுது அதனால் விளைந்த பலவகைத் தானியங்களில் ஒரு பாகம் கடமையாக, குறிப்பிட்ட அட்டவணைப்படி (கோவிலுக்கு) இறுப்பதாக அரசன் கட்டளை இட்டார். அரசன் சார்பில், சூரியதேவனும், மண்டலபுருஷனும் கையெழுத்திட்டார்கள்.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|| *] திருமுகத்துக்கு
2. ஆவுடையநாயிநார் மாளுவச்சக்...
3. த்தி ஓலை [||*] ஸ்ரீ வீரபாண்டியதேவற்-
4. குயாண்டு ௩௰௬-வது காத்திகை
5. ௴ உ௰௫ சாய்க்கனார் உடையா-
6. ர் வீரசெகரீசுரமுடைய நாயனாற்கு நாம் க-
7. ட்டின பெரிய முதலியார் சந்திக்கு திரு அ[மு]-
8. துபடி உள்ளிட்ட விஞ்சநத்துக்கும் திரு-
9. நந்தா விளக்கு இரண்டுக்கும் நாம் கு-
10. டுத்த ஊராவது பொழிகால் நாட்டில்
11. நம் காணியான விருபநாராயண
12. நல்லூர் நான்கெல்லைக்குட்ப-
13. ட்ட நன்செய் புன்செய் நத்தம்
14. நான்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலம்
15. அடங்கலில் முன்பு தெவதானம் திரு-
16. விடையாட்டம் தன்மதானம் உள்ள நில-
17. ம் நீங்கலாக உள்ள நிலமடங்கலுக்கும் சீ-
18. விதப்படி ஒரு மா நிலத்துக்கு வெள்ளக்கெடுவ-
19. றடக்கெடு பாத்து பயிர் நின்ற நிலத்துக்கு பசா-
20. நத்துக்கு மாத்தால் நாற்கல நெல்லும் குற-
21. வைக்கு இரு கல நெல்லும் வரகு தினை

22. விளைந்த நிலத்துக்கு மாத்தால் கலமும்
23. என்னு விளைந்த நிலத்துக்கு மாத்தால்
24. இருதுணி என்னும் புன்செய் கை விதை
25. காட்டுநெல்லு விளைந்த நிலத்துக்கு மா-
26. த்தால் இரு கல நெல்லும் பருத்தி விளைந்த நில-
27. த்துக்கு நாடற்ற மருசாதிக்கடமை இறுப்பதாக -
28. வும் இப்படி இவ்வூர் சக்கிரவத்தி மூவெங்-
29. திரவெளான் உழுது கடமை இறுத்துப்பொது
30. வானுகவும் இப்படி சந்திராதித்தவர் செல்ல கல்லி-
31. லும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்கொள்ளவும்
32. விலக்கிலி இப்படிக்கு சூரியதெவன் எழுத்து
33. இப்படிக்கு மண்டலபுருஷன் எழுத்து [||*]

No. 2

(A. R. No. 99 of 1945-46)

Same wall

Kulaśēkhara: 7th year of reign

இது பாண்டிய மன்னர் குலசேகரதேவருடைய ஏழாம் அரசாண்டில் போடப்பட்டது. கரிஉய்யவந்தான் கண்டன் காங்கேயன் செய்த பூதானத்தைக் கூறுகிறது. இவர், ஸ்ரீ வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையாருக்கு, 'திருமடைப்பள்ளிப் புறமாக' இரண்டுமாகாணி அரைக்காணி நிலத்தைக் கொடுத்தார். இந்நிலத்திற்கு, இறை செலுத்துமிடத்தில், பெருவரி சிறுவரிகளில் ஐந்தில் ஒரு பாகமாகக் குறைத்துவிட்டமைக்கு, அரசருக்காக ஸ்ரீ சுந்தர பாண்டிய மூவேந்தவேளான் கையெழுத்திட்டார்.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|*] கரி உய்யவந்தான் கண்-
2. டன்கான காங்கயனென் [|*] ஸ்ரீ குலசேக
3. ரதேவற்க்கு யாண்டு எ-வது விரசெகரி -
4. ஸ்ரமுடைய உஹா ஜெவற்க்கு நமக்கு -
5. ப் பிழைத்தச் செய்த உடையான் தெவன்று -
6. ன செனுவரயன் விசலு[ர்*] க்காணியில்
7. நான் நங்கத்தான்வயக்கலில் நிர்வாத் -
8. த நிலம் ஒரு மாவும் விலைக்கு விற்ற நிலம்
9. மாகாணி அரைக்காணியும் ஆக நிலம்
10. இரண்டுமாக் காணி அரைக்காணிக்கும் கிழ் -
11. பாற்க்செல்லைப் பொற்பதி சொறன் செ -
12. றன் வெலஞ் செக்கும் கற்பகன் வானவன்
13. வெலஞ் செக்கும் மெற்க்கும் தெற்க்கு எல்லை
14. கிழக்கு பொன வாக்காலுக்கு கிழக்கு -
15. ம் வடக் கெல்லைப் பொற்பதி சொறன் [திரி]
16. வயக்கலுக்கும் வாள்வந்திரி வயக்கலுக்கு -

17. த் தெற்க்கும் மெற்ப்படி இழைகள் வழங்கி -
18. யும் திருமடைப்பள்ளிப்புறமாக விற்றுக்கொடு -
19. த்தமைக்கு சுந்தரபாண்டிய மூவெந்தவெளா
20. ன் எழுத்து பலர் ஊாவெஹஸாரவெக்ஷ மெற்ப்ப -
21. டியான பற்றான வீரசெகரன் திருமடைப்பள்ளிப்
22. புறம் சிற்றுவரி பெருவரியும் ஆக தந்த ஐம்பா இ -
23. றையிலியாக விற்றுக் கல்வெட்டிக் குடுத் -
24. தென் உய்யவந்தான் கண்டனான காங்கயனெ
25. ன் இப்படிக்கு இவை சுந்தரபாண்டிய மூவெ-
26. ந்தவெளான் எழுத்து உ

No. 3

(A. R. No. 100 of 1945-46)

Same wall

Kulaśēkhara: 4th year of reign

இது பாண்டிய குலசேகரதேவருடைய 4 - ஆம் அரசாண்டில், கல்வாயில் நாடாழ்வான் செய்த தர்மத்தை விளக்குகிறது. இவர், கல்வாயில்நாயனார் கோவிலின் ஸ்தானத்தார், வீரசேகரீசுரமுடைய நாயனார் ஸ்தானத்தார்களிடத்திலிருந்து, 'கர்பூர விலை'க்குக் கிரயமாகப் பெற்றுக்கொண்ட நிலத்தை, கல்வாயில்நாயனாருக்கும், வீரசேகரமுடை நாயனாருக்கும், வாலைதேசநாயகப் பிள்ளையார்க்கும் தானம் செய்து கொடுத்தார். தானம் கொடுத்த நிலத்திற்குண்டான வரிகளில், ஐந்தில் ஒரு பாகமாகக் குறைத்து, 'இறையிலிகாராண் கிழமை' யாக விட்டார்.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கல்வாயில்
2. நாடாழ்வான் ஓலை [|*] கல்-
3. வயல் நாயகர் கொயி -
4. லில் தானத்தார்க்கும்
5. வீரசெகரீஸ்வரமுடைய நா-
6. யனார் கொயில்த் தானத்தாற்க்கு [ம்]
7. கண்டு சாயக்களூர் பற்று நமங் -
8. காணிப் பற்றில் மலையாள னங்குடி-
9. க்கா வெளையிற்ச் சுற்றுக்கு தங்கள் ப -
10. க்கல் கற்ப்பூரவிலைக் கொண்டு கல்வ[யி]
11. ல் நா[யி]னார்க்கு ஐஞ்சில் லொன்றும் வீர
12. செகரமுடைய நாயினார்க்கு ஐஞ்சில் லெ[ா]-
13. ன்றும் சாயக்களூர்த் தெற்க்கில் வாலை தெ
14. சநாயகப் பிள்ளையாற்க்கு ஐஞ்சில் லொன்
15. றும் ஆக இவ்வகைப்படியிலெ இறையி-
16. லி காராண்கிழமை யாக குலசெகரதே-
17. [வற்க்]கு யாண்டு நாலாவது முதல் தந்த -
18. [மைக்கு] இப்படி சந்திராதித்தவற்ச் செல்வு

19. க்கடவதாக கல்லிலு(ம்) ஞ் செம்பிலு
20. ம் வெட்டிக் கொண்டு அனுபவிக்க
21. இவை தெசி நாராயண மூவெந்தவெள-
22. ரன் எழுத்து உ

No. 4

(A. R. No. 101 of 1945-46)

Same wall

Kulaśēkhara: 13+1st year of reign

பாண்டிய வேந்தனுகிய குலசேகரதேவருடைய ஆட்சி 13+1ஆம் ஆண்டில், திருக்கழிப் பாலையூர் அதிபதியாகிய குலோத்துங்க சோழ அதலையூர் நாடாழ்வான், ஸ்ரீ வீரசேகரீசுரமுடைய மஹாதேவர்க்கு, திருப்பள்ளி எழுச்சி, பூசை, ஆராதனைகளின் செலவிற்காக பெரும்பூவில் ஐந்து மாநிலம் இறையிலியாக தானம் செய்ததாக இக்கல்வெட்டு கூறுகிறது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*]. திரிபுவனச்சக-
2. கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ குலசெகரதெவற்க்கு
3. யாண்டு பதின்மூன்றவதின் எதிராமாண்டு
4. கண்டன் திருக்கழிப்பாலை உடையான்-
5. னை குலொத்துங்கசொழ அதலையூர் ந[ா]-
6. டாழ்வான்னென் பெரும்பூனுட்டுச் சாய்க்
7. களுர் விரசெகரமுடைய மஹாதெவற்க்கு
8. நாம் திருப்பள்ளி எழுச்சிக்கு திருவமுதுப
9. டி உள்ளிட்ட வெஞ்சனங்களுக்கு இறையி -
10. லி தெவதானமாக நிர்வாத்த பெரும்பூ[வி]-
11. வில் மிகுட்டி உள்ளிட்ட நிலம் ஐஞ்சு மா இ-
12. து சந்திராதித்தவற்ச் செல்லக் கல் வெட்டி[க்]-
13. [கு]டுத்தொம் குலொத்துங்க சொழ அதலையூர் நா-
14. டாழ்வான் னெ[ன்] இப்படிக்கு இது தெ[ன்]னவி[பு]-
15. டையான் எழுத்து பல்மாஹெ[ஶ்வ]ர
16. [ர] ரக்ஷை [||*]

No. 5

(A. R. No. 102 of 1945-46)

Same wall

Māṟavarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya: 14th year of reign

இது மாறவர்மரான வீரபாண்டிய தேவருடைய 14-ம் அரசாண்டில், சேந்தமங்கலத்து அரசு தன்மன்கம்பனை தன்மராயன் என்பவர் ஸ்ரீ வீரசேகரமுடையார்க்குச் செய்துகொடுத்த பூதானத்தைக் கூறுகிறது. கோவிலில், தனது சிறப்புப் பெயராகிய ‘தப்பிலாவாசகன்’ என்கிற பெயரால் வழங்கச் செய்ய ‘தப்பிலாவாசகன் சந்தி’ என்கிற ஓர் விசேட பூசை, ஆராதனைச் செலவிற்காக, தலையாமங்கலத்தில் எட்டு மா விஸ்தீர்ணமுள்ள நிலத்தை தானம் செய்தார். இந்த எட்டு மாவில்

ஒரு மா நிலத்தை அலங்காரபட்டன் ஸ்தாபித்த விக்கிரமவிசையப் பிள்ளையாருக்கு, அமுதபடிச் செலவிற்கு விட்டார். தானம் செய்யப் பட்ட நிலங்களைக் குறிப்பதற்காக நாற்பாற்கெல்லைகளில் திருச்சூலம் போட்ட கற்களை ஸ்தாபித்தார். நன்கொடை செய்த கம்பராயனுடைய ‘தப்பிலாவாசகன்’ என்கிற சிறப்புப் பெயர் அவர் மேன்மையை விளக்கும்.

மூலம்

1. [ஸ்ரீ]...கித்திக்கு மெல்[ஸ்ரீ]கொ மாறபன்மரான தி(ரு)
புவனச்சக்கரவ-
2. த்திகள் ஸ்ரீவிரபாண்டியதேவற்கு யாண்டு ௰௪-வது மார்கழி
மாத-
3. த்து ஒரு நாள் மிழலைக் கூற்றத்து மெல் [ப]ற்று
மி[ப]ரம்பாற்று நாட்டுச்-
4. செதமங்கலத்து அரசு தன்மன் கம்பனான தன்ம
ராயனென் ஒ-
5. பரு[ம்]பூர் நாட்டு சாய்க்களூர் உடையார் விரசெக-
ர ஈசுவரமுடை-
6. ய நாயனாற்கு சாதனம் பண்ணிக் குடுத்த பரி-
சாவது [|*] இந்நாயனாற்கு
7. நா[ன்] கட்டிவிட்ட தப்பிலாவாசகன் சந்திக்கு
திருவமுதுபடி உ-
8. ள்ளிட்ட விஞ்சனத்துக்கு நாம் குடுத்த தலையா-
மங்கலத்து வடலி-
9. ல் [த]லையாமங்கலத்துக் குளத்துப் பழஞ்-
சொற்றுச் ஒ-
10. ச [ம்]மடையால் நிர்பாஞ்சு ஒ[ந]ல் விளையும்
முளைச்ச-
11. ான் திருவகத்தியான் திருஞானசம்பந்த பற்று-
ம் மற்று-
12. ம் [மு]ள்ளிட்ட பறடி பொவதி த[டி] நெடுங்-
கணும் கிழை ம-
13. டத்தி வயக்கலும் மெலை மடத்தி வயக்கலும் உடை-
14. ய [ந]ம்பி சாத்தி செய்யும் திருஞானசம்பந்தன்
சாத்தி ஒ-
15. சய்யும் ஜிவபத்தர் சாத்தி செய்யும் ஆக இவ்-
வ ...வை
16. எ [ட்]டினுல் நிலம் எட்டு மா இதில் இன்னைய-
னார் கொயில்
17. அ [ல]ங்கார பட்டர் எறியருள பண்ணின வி-
க்கிரம-

18. விசையப் பிள்ளையாற்கு அமுதுபடி உள்ளிட்-
டவிஞ்-
19. சனங்களுக்கு விட்ட மெலை....ச் சாத்தி செ...
20. ம் ஒரு மாச்செய் குடுத்தொ-
21. ம் நிக்கி உள்ள நிலம் எழு மாவும்
22. இன்னாயனாற்க்கு அமுதுபடி உள்ளி-
23. ட்ட விஞ்சனத்துக்கு விட்டு தி[ரு*]-
24. ச்சூல தாபனமும் பண்ணிக்-
25. குடுத்து இந்நிலம் உழுத குடிம-
26. ....முடைய திருஞானசம்ப-
27. .. ..
28. ன் கு[டி]யாக [நின்]று குடிநீங்கா-
29. தெவதானமாக நின்று இன்னாயனா[ற்]-
30. கு உழுவானாகவும் இப்படிக்கு [இ]-
31. ந்த திருஞானசம்பந்தனை வெ-
32. ட்டிமுட்டாவான் பச்சைவிளியெ[ய]ா-
33. கம் என்று சொல்லக் கடவதல்ல-
34. வாகவும் இப்படிக்கு திருச்சூலத் [தா]-
35. பனம் பண்ணி கல்லிலும் செம்பி-
36. லும் வெட்டிக் குடுத்தெனது இறை[யி]-
37. லி காராண்கிழமையாகப் பண்ணிக்-
38. குடுத்தென் தன்மன் கம்பனான தன்மர[ா]-
39. யனென் இன்னாயனாற்கு இப்படிக்கு இ-
40. வை தன்மராயன் எழுத்து காரியப்-
41. பெரில் வலி......டுக்குப் பெரைய-
42. ன் தற்குறியும் தன்மராயப் பெரையன்
43. தற்குறிக்கும் செந்தமங்கலத்துக்கும் கு-
44. முங்குடிக்கும் நாட்டுச் சமந்த நாட்டாற்க்கும் திருஞான-
சம்பந்தன் தற்குறியிட்டு
45.* ...ற்குறிக்கும் இட்டு இன்னாடு கணக்கு......ந்தக் கல்லூ
ருடையான் சொலைமலை சொக்கன் விரசெகரனான விழுப்ப
[ரா*] ராயன் எழுத்து உ

No. 6

(A. R. No. 103 of 1945-46)

Same wall

Kulaśēkhara: 8th year of reign

ஸ்ரீ குலசேகரதேவருடைய எட்டாவது அரசாண்டில் உய்யவந்தான் பெரியநாயன் ஆன காங்கேயன் தனது காணியான சிறுசாயக்களூரிலிருக்கும் செய்யை வீரசேகரமுடையார் கோவிலில் திருவலகும் திருமெழுகும் இடும் பணியாட்களின் செலவிற்காக விட்டார்.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] உய்யவந்தான் பெரிய-
2. ஞயனை காங்கையனெ[ன்]
3. ஸ்ரீ குலசேகரதேவற்கு யாண்டு ஏ-
4. வது சாக்களூருடையார் வீரசெக[ரி]-
5. ஸா வரமுடையனாயனார்க்கு திருவல-
6. கு திருமெழுக்குக்கு என் காணியான சிறு-
7. சாக்களூர் வயலில் இந்தச் செய் இன் னி-
8. மந்த[த்*]துக்கு சந்திராதித்தவற் செல்ல நீர்வா-
9. த்து கல்லு வெட்டி குடுத்தென் உய்யவந்-
10. தான் பெரிநாயனை காங்கையனென் [||*]
11. இப்படிக்கு காங்கையன் எழுத்து
12. இப்படிக்கு நந்தியரா[ய]ன் எழுத்து உ

No. 7

(A. R. No. 104 of 1945-46)

Same wall

Kulaśēkhara: 7th year of reign

இக் கல்வெட்டு வேளானைவிடங்கனான திருக்கழிப்பாலையுடையான் அதலையூர்நாடாழ்வான் பாலையூர் நாட்டின் வேங்கைவாசலில், ஆறு மா நிலம் பூதானம் செய்ததாகக் கூறுகிறது. இந்த தானம் பாண்டியமன்னன் குலசேகரதேவ ராசாட்சியில் ஏழாமாண்டு முதற் கொண்டு நடக்கும்படியாக விதிக்கப்பட்டது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] வெளானை விடங்கன் திருக்கழி-
2. ப்பாலையுடையானான அதளையூர் நாடா-
3. ழ்வானென் கல்யவல் மஹாதெவற்க்கு நாம் கிராவா
4. த்து குடுத்த நிலமாவது ப[ா]லையூர் நாட்டு வெ-
5. ங்கைவாசலில் வெலஞ்செய் உள்ளிட்ட ம-
6. ற்று நிலம் ஆறு மாவும் வடக்கில் ஊரணிக்-
7. குழியும் நத்தமும் இன்னாயனாற்க்கு ஸ்ரீகுலசே-
8. கர தேவற்க்கு யாண்டு எ-வது முதல் கல்லு நாட்-
9. டி கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டி சந்திராதித்த-
10. வற் செல்ல குடுத்தென் அதளையூர் நாடாழ்வான் எழு-
11. த்து இப்படிக்கு விழுப்பாதராயன் எழுத்து உ

No. 8

(A. R. No. 105 of 1945-46)

Same wall

Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara: 37th year of reign

மிழலைக் கூற்றத்து நடுவிற்கூற்று வீரமங்கலத்து ஊரவர், கல்வாயில் நாயனார் கோவிலில் அலங்காரப்பட்டன் ஸ்தாபித்த விக்கிரம

2

விசையப் பிள்ளையார்க்கு, அமுதுபடி உள்ளிட்ட விஞ்சனங்களின் செலவிற்காக, ஒரு தடி நிலத்தை தானம் செய்து, அந்நிலத்திற்குத் தர வேண்டிய வரிகளைப் பிள்ளையார்க்கு நிவேதனம் செய்ய நியமித்தார்.

இக் கல்வெட்டை பாண்டிய மாறவர்மன் குலசேகர தேவருடைய 37-ம் அரசாண்டில் ஊர்க்கணக்கனான இராசராஜீசுரமுடையான் எழுதினான்.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கொமாறபன்மரான திருபு-
2. வனச் சக்கரவத்திகள் குலசேகரதேவ-
3. ற்க்கு யாண்டு ௩௰எ-வது மிழலை கூற்ற-
4. த்து நடுவிற்கூற்று விரமங்கலத்து
5. ஊ[ர்*]க்கு சமைந்த ஊரவர்ரொம் சாக்க-
6. ளூர் பிரல் கல்வய[ல்*] நாயனார் கொயிலி-
7. ல் அலங்காரபட்டன் எறியருளப் பண்ணி-
8. ன விக்கரமவிசைய பிள்ளையார்க்கு இறையி-
9. லி காராண்மை பிரமாண[ம்*] பண்ணி குடுத்த
10. பரிசாவது [|*] இவர் வயலில் விரிசை பற்றின்
11. வெளான் மடையால் நிர்பாஞ்சு நெல் வி-
12. ளையும் கொற்றன் செய் தடி முழுது இட்பி-
13. ள்ளையாரற்க்கு அமுதுபடி உள்ளிட்ட விஞ்-
14. சனத்துக்கு இறையிலியாக சந்திரா-
15. தித்தவரை செல்ல கல்லு நாட்டி கு-
16. முத்தொம் ஊர்க்கு சமைந்த ஊர்வரொ-
17. ம் இன்னிலம் தங் [க]ளுக்கு வெண்டும் குடிக்கு கு-
18. டுத்து உழுவித்து கொள்ள கடவராக ஆகவும் இ-
19. ப்படி சம்மதித்து இறையிலி காராங்கிழ-
20. மை பிரமாணம் பண்ணி குடுத்தொம் அலங்க-
21. ா [ர*] பட்டற்க்கு [|*] விரமங்கலத்து ஊ[ர்*]க்கு சமந்த ஊரவ-
22. ரொம் ஊரர் சொல்ப்படிக்கு இ ஊ[ர்*]க்க-
23. ணக்க [ன்*] இராசராதிஸ்வரமுடையான் எழுத்து உ

No. 9

(A. R. No. 106 of 1945-46)

Same wall

Sundara-Pāṇḍya: 14+1st year of reign

ஸ்ரீ சுந்தரபாண்டிய தேவர் அரசாட்சி 14-வதின் எதிராமாண்டில் உதையன் பெரியனான காங்கேயன், ஸ்ரீவீர சேகரீசுரமுடையார் கோவிலுக்கு, ஆதிசண்டேசுர நாயனார் பேரில் செய்த பூதானம் இக்கல் வெட்டில் பதிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. தானம் செய்யப்பட்ட நிலம் பெரும்பூ நாட்டில் வெண்குளமான மாளுவமாணிக்கமென்கிற கிராமத்தைச் சார்ந்தது. நிலத்தைக் கூத்தன் ஈசன் அதிகைமான் பயிர்செய்து, முதல் செய்ததில் விழுக்காடு, வினியோகம் முதலிய கடமைகளை ஸ்ரீவீர

சேகரீசுரமுடைய நாயனாருக்காக, ஆடி மாதத்தில் உதையன் பெரியன் பிறந்த உத்திர நக்ஷத்திர நாள் விசேட பூசைகளின் செலவிற்காகச் செலுத்தும்படி கட்டளை இடப் பெற்றான். மேற்கூறப்பட்ட அதிகைமான் தேவன் பெயர் பாண்டிய குலசேகரதேவருடைய கல்வெட்டில் (கெ. 15) காணப்படுகிறது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] திரிபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீசுந்தர-
பாண்டிய-
5. தேவற்க்கு ய௪-வதின் எதிராமாண்டு கொ[ள]ங்
கவனநாட்டுப் பெரும்பூ-
3. ர் நாட்டுச் சாய்க்கனூர் உடையார் விரசெகரீஸ்வரமுடைய-
நாயனார் கொயி-
4. ல் ஆதிசண்டேஸ்வர நாயனாற்க்கு உதையன் பெரிய நாயனை
காங்க-
5. யனென் இறையிலிதெவதானப் பிரமாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுத்த
பரிசாவது [|*]
6. இந் நாட்டு வெண்குளமான மாளுவமாணிக்கத்து வய்யலில்
இறையிலியாக நா-
7. ன்கெல்லையிலும் கல் நாட்டிக் குடுத்த நிலமாவது
உஞ்செனைக் கூத்தன் ஈசனான அதி-
8. கைமானுக்கு இவ்வய்யலில் இவனுக்கு நாம் காணியாகக்
குடுத்த நிலமாவது
9. குடிதாங்கி வயகலும் மெற்படி நாற்றுக்காலும் காலாம்
வரவையும் ஆழம் தடி.
10. இரண்டும் இணைவரவையும் இக்கல் நாட்டின நான்[கெ*]ல்லைக்
குள்ளு அகப்பட்ட முது-
11. நிலமாய் வரம்பழி•பாழாய்க் கடந்த நிலங்களும் அடியாற்க்கு
மிண்டான் ஊருணியு-
12. ம் செங்கயத்தங்குடிப் பற்றான வாகைச் செய்ய[ல்]
நாரண[ன்*] முக்காணியும் சென்...ணற் செய்ய(யு)
13. ம் ஆக இந் நிலங்களும் இவ்வெல்லைக்குட்பட முது நிலங்-
களுக்கும் பெரும்பூ நா-
14. ட்டில் விழுக்காடு கொல் குடிதாங்கியா[ல்] அளந்து அளவு
பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு புள்ளிட-
15. க் காலத்தில் ஒன்றுமுக்காலுக்கு மாத்தால் [கொ]ால் மானவ-
சிங்கத்தால் அளக்கும் ஊ-
16. சுவமும் குடிதாங்கியால் அளவுப் பட்[ட*] நிலத்துக்கு
நாட்டு விழுக்காடு வினியொகம் முத-
17. லாக உள்ளன அம்மற்றம் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டனவும் இக்
நாயனாற்க்கு ஆடித்திருநாளில் நாம்

18. பிறந்த நாள் ஆடி உத்தரம் நித்தமாக திருநாள் எழுந்தருளத் திருந[ா*]ள் தெவைக்கும் அமுது-
19. படி உள்ளிட்ட விஞ்சனத்துக்கும் இந்நாள் முதல் சந்திரா தித்தவர் செ[ல்*]வதாகக் கல் நாட்டிக் குடுத்-
20. தொம் இப்படி கல்[லி*]லும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டி-
21. க்கொள்ள இப்படிக்கு காங்கயன் எழுத்து நந்திராயர் எழுத்து
22. பல மாஹெஸ்வர்க்கும் இரக்ஷை உ

No. 10

(A. R. No. 107 of 1945-46)

Same wall

Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara I: 7th year of reign

(=A.D. 1275)

கி. பி. 1268 ஆம் ஆண்டில் அரசுபுரிந்த மாறவர்மரான எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டருளிய குலசேகர தேவருடைய எழாம் அரசாண்டில் (அதாவது கி. பி. 1275), கேரளசிங்கவளநாட்டு ஆம்போர்க்குடி ஊரவர், ஸ்ரீ வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையாருக்கு, ஆதிசண்டேசுர நாயனார் பேரில், நிலவிக்கிரயம் செய்ததாக இக்கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகிறது. விற்றுக்கொடுத்த நிலமானது ஆம்போர்க்குடிக் குளக்கரையருகிலுள்ளது. இதை விற்பனை செய்வதில் சில முறைகள் வழங்கப் பெற்றன. அதாவது, நிலத்தின் விலையை நிர்ணயித்த பிறகு அதை மும்முறை யாவரும் கேட்கும்படிச் சொல்லி, பிரமாணம் செய்து விலைஆவணக்களத்திலேயே, நிலம் வாங்குபவரிடத்திலிருந்து விலைத்தொகையைப் பெற்றுக்கொண்டதாகவும், விலைத் தொகையுடன் விற்பனைச் செலவுகளையும் கூடப் பெற்றுக் கொண்டதாகவும் தெரிய வருகிறது. நிலத்தை, கொண்டவர்களின் சார்பு செய்யும்பொழுது, ஓலையொன்று எழுதிக் கொடுத்து, இவ்வோலையன்றி வேறு ஓலை ‘காணவும் காட்டவும் கடவதல்லவாக’ எனக் கட்டளையும் இட்டார். ஓலையினுடைய பிரதியை கல்லிலும் செப்பேடுகளிலும் பதியச் செய்யுமிடத்தில் கோவிலின் சுவரிலேயே கல்வெட்டுப் போட்டதாகத் தெரியவருகிறது. கோவிலைத் திருமலை என்று வழங்கியதாகச சாசனத்தில் காணலாம். விற்றுக் கொடுத்த நிலம், முதுநிலமாயும் பாழாய்க் கிடந்ததாகவும், அதைத் திருத்தி, வரம்பிட்டு, வேண்டிய பயிர் செய்துகொண்டு அனுபவிப்பதாக ஊரார் கோவிலுக்கு அனுமதி கொடுத்தனர். மேலும் நிலத்தின் நான்கு எல்லைகளில் திருச்சூலம் போட்ட கற்களை நிறுத்தினர். சிவபெருமான் கோவில் நிலங்களுக்கெல்லாம் திருச்சூலக் கற்களும், விஷ்ணு கோவிலைச் சார்ந்தவைகளுக்கு திருவாழிக் கற்களும் நிறுத்துவது பண்டை நாட்களின் முறை.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொமா [றப*] ன்மரான திருபுவனச் சக்கிறவத்திகள் எம்மண்டலமுங் கோண்டருளிய ஸ்ரீ குல சேகரதேவற்க்கு யாண்டு எ-வது கெரளசிங்கவள[நாட்]

டுப் பெரும்பூர்நாட்[1]டுச் சாய்க்களுருடையார் வீரசெகரீஸ்ர
முடைய நாயனார் கொ-
2. யில் ஆதிசண்டெசுரநாயனார்க்கு இந்நாட்டு வடவளுகை ஆம
பொற்கு [டி] ஊற்க்குச் சமைந்த ஊரவரொம் நிலவிலைப்
பிரமாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுத்த பரிசாவது நாங்கள் விற்றுக்
குடுத்த முது நிலத்தரி...க்கு எல்லை
3. யாவது கிழ்பாற்கெல்லை ஆம்பொற்க்குடி குளகரைக்கு
மெற்க்கு அக்குளத்தில் கடைபொகிற வாய்க்காலுக்கு
மெற்க்கும் தென் பாற்க்கெல்லை ஆற்றுவிக்கும் பெ-
4. ருங்[2]கள்ளாங்குடிக் குளக்கரைக்கு வடக்கு மெ[ல்] பாற்க்
கெல்லை இந்நாயனார் தெவதானம் மூ...க்கு வயலான
தவராசநல்லூர் கிழெல்லைக்கு கிழக்கு வடபாற்-
5. கெல்லை ஆம்பொற்குடிக் குளத்துக்கு நீர்பொகிற காலுக்கு
தெற்கும் ஆக இந்நாங்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலம் ஆக்கித்
திருத்தி வரம்பிட்டு வெண்டும் பயிர் செய்(த்)துக்
கொள்வாராக விலை -
6. ஆவ(ா)ணம் பண்ணிக்குடுத்தொம் ஊராரிசைந்த ஊரவரொம்
ஆதிசண்டெஸரற்க்கு இப்படி விற்றுக் குடுத்த இந்நிலத்துக்கு
எம்மில் நிச்செயித்த பொருளும் விலையாவணக்-களத்திலெ
காட்டி யெற்-
7. றிக் [ஞ*]கச்செல[வு*] அறக்கொண்டு விற்று விலை ப்ரமாணம்
பண்ணிக் குடுத்தொ[ம்] ஊராரிசைந்த ஊரவரொம் ஒரு
காலாவது யிருகாலாவது முக்காலாவதும் ஓலைக் குற்றம்
எழுத்துக் குற்றஞ் சொற் குற்றமின்றியெ விற்றுக் குடுத்த
நிலத்துக்கு இதுவெ விலை-
8. யொலையாவதாகவும் இதுவெ பொருளுமாவறுதிப் பெ[ா*]
ருள் செலவொலையாவதாகவும் இதுவல்லது வெறொலை
காண[வு]ம் காட்டவும் கடவதல்லவாகவும் இப்படியிலே
சந்திராதித்தவற் செல்வதாக திருச்சூலக் கல்லும் எழுந்தருளு
வித்து திருமலை
9. யிலெ கல்லிலு[ம்]செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்குடுத்து விற்று
விலைப் பிரமாணம் பண்ணிக்குடுத்தொம் ஆம்பொற்குடி
ஊராரிசைந்த ஊரவரொம் ஆதிசண்டெசுரதெவர்க்கு...
வாகெயன் பொன்மாளி கைம்மாட்டு [அ]றிந்து அவையன்
பொன்மாளி எழுத்து
10. அட்டலை யிட்டு [க்*] கதிரனை விருதராசயன் தற்குறியு
மிட்டு நானுமறிவென் திருநட்டம[ா*]டி பட்[ட*]ன்
எ[ழு]த்து முத்தாண்டான் தற்குறியுமிட்டு குழிச்சார்[ப்]
பட்டையார் பிள்ளைகளில் [சா]லையார் எழுத்து. [||*]

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1. Four letters from ர் written below the line.
2. Letter written below the line.

No. 11

(A. R. No. 38 of 1946-47)

East wall of the *Mahāmaṇḍapa*, proper right of entrance, same temple

Māṟavarman Śrīvaladēva: 4th year of reign

ஸ்ரீ வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையநாயனார்த் திருக்குளத்தில், சன்னிதித் திருமஞ்சனப் பொய்கையும், துறைமுகமும் கட்டியமையச்செய்து வருடந்தோறும் சீராக வைப்பதற்காக சாய்க்கலூர் ஆசாரிகளில் வீரன் சிராண்டாரான ஆனந்தநாதருக்குச் சாய்க்கலூர் ஊரவர், இவர் வாணாதராயரிடத்திலிருந்துகொண்ட நிலத்திற்கு இறுக்க வேண்டிய கடமைகளைக் கழித்து, இறையிலி செய்ததாகக் கல்வெட்டில் எழுதியுள்ளது. இச் சாஸனம் பாண்டிய அரசனான மாறவர்மன் சிவல தேவர் அரசாட்சியில் 4-ம் ஆண்டில் செதுக்கப்பட்டது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கோமாறுபன்மரான த்ரிபுவனசக்ரவத்திகள் சிவலதேவற்கு யாண்டு ச ஆவது தை மீ எ-உ கேரளசிங்கவள நாட்டு பெரும்பூர் நாட்டுச் சாய்க்கலூரவற்கு சமைந்த ஊர-
2. வரோம் இவ்வூர் ஆசாரியர்களில் விரன் சிராண்டாரான ஆனந்தநாதற்கு இறையிலிப் பிரமாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுத்த பரிசாவது[|*] உடையார் விரசெகரிசுவரமுடையநாயி-
3. னார்த் திருகுளத்தில் சன்னதி திருமஞ்சனப் பொய்கைக்கும் துரைக்கும் இறையிலியாக ஆவுடையார் வாணவதரையர் பக்கல் இவர் கொண்ட நிலம் சாய்க்கலூர் குளத்-
4. து அனைத்து மடையிலும்..ம் உலகன் வயக்கல் தடி முழுதும் உடையன் வயக்கல் தடி முழுதும் இச்செய்குரியவா..னும் பல பெர்ப்பட்டமாக-
5. ....சிருமழற்றும் எப்பெறற்பட்ட......ததிகளும் இறையிலியாக கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் கல்லிலும் வெட்டிக் குடுத்தொம் ஊற்கு சமைந்த ஊ-
6. ரவரோம் ஆனந்தநாதற்கு இப்படிக்கு ஊற்கு சமைந்த ஊரோம் தற்குறிக்கு [||*]

No. 12

(A. R. No. 39 of 1946-47)

Same wall

Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara: 4th year of reign

பெரியநாயன் அழகனான காங்கேயன், ஸ்ரீ வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையார்க்கு, தன் பெயரால் தொடங்கிய 'மணவாளன் சந்தி' என்கிற விசேட பூசைக்கும் அமுதபடி முதலிய நிமந்தங்களின் செலவிற்குமாக, விலைக்கு வாங்கிய கொஞ்சம் நிலத்தை, 'இறையிலிகாராண்மையாக', தானம் செய்தார். பாண்டிய மன்னன் மாறவர்மரான குலசேகர தேவருடைய

4-ம் அரசாண்டு முதல், அந் நிலத்திற்குச் செலுத்த வேண்டிய இறை, அந்தராயம், முதலிய குடிமைகளைக் (கொடுக்க வேண்டிய வரிகளை) கழித்துக் கொடுத்ததாகக் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகிறது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] பெரியனாயன் அழகனான காங்-
2. கையனென் சாய்க்களூர் விரசெகரீஸ்வரமுடைய
3. மஹாதெவற்க்கு இறையிலி காராண்மை ப்ரமாண
4. ணம் பண்ணிக் குடுத்த பரிசாவது நம் பெரால் அமுதுசெ-
5. து பொதுகிற மணவாளன் சந்திக்கு உடுசெனைப்பற்று
6. ...க்குடி புரவான சடங்கழி வடவகை......
7. ளையில் சுற்றும் நாம் பொருள் குடுத்து விலை கொண்டு
8. ஸ்ரீகொம[ா*]றபன்மரான திருபுவனச் சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகுல-
9. [C*] சகர தேவற்க்கு யாண்டு ச-வது முதல் உள்ள இறை அந்த்ராயம் [ம*]
10. ற்றும் எப்பெர்பட்ட குடிமைகளும் நம் பெயரால் அமுது செ[ய்து*]
11. பொதுகிற மணவாளன் சந்திக்கு நீர் வார்த்து சந்திராதித்தவ
12. ல்(ல) கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டி கல்லும் நாட்டிக் குடுத்[*த]
13. ஸ்ரீ செகரீஸ்வரமுடையார் மஹாதெவற்க்கு பெரியனாயன்-
14. னான காங்கையனென் இப்படிக்கு இவை காங்கையன் [எழுத்*]-
15. து இப்படிக்கு இவை வழுதியதரை[ய*]ன் எழுத்து உமாஹெ-
16. சர் [ர*] க்ஷிக்க உ

No. 13
(A. R. No. 40 of 1946-47)
Same wall
(Near the image of Gaṇapati)

இந்தக் கல்வெட்டும் காங்கேயனுடைய அறவோலையே. இவர், ஸ்ரீ வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையார் கோவிலில் அலங்காரபட்டன் ஸ்தாபித்த விக்கிரமவிசையப் பிள்ளையாருக்கு, அமுதுபடி முதலான விஞ்சனங்களுக்காக விசலூர் வயலில் 'பிடாரிவயக்கல்' என்கின்ற நிலத்தை தானம் செய்தார். இந்நிலத்திற்கு இறைகளொன்றுமில்லாமல் நாட்டாரால் கழிக்கப்பட்டது. இந்த தானம்செய்த தேதியைக் குறிக்குமிடத்தில், ஆண்டு 8-வதின் எதிராமாண்டு மார்கழி மாதம் முதல் என்று சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறதே தவிர, எந்த அரசனுடைய ஆட்சியி லென்பது கூறப்படவில்லை. ஆயினும், இதில் காணும் அலங்கார

பட்டனென்பவன் மேற்கண்ட கெ. 8-வது மாறவர்மரான குலசேகரருடைய 37-ம் ஆண்டில் போடப்பட்ட சாஸனத்தில் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளபடியாலும், காங்கேயன் என்பவன் கெ. 12-வது கல்வெட்டின் பிரகாரம் இதே அரசனுடைய 4-வது ஆண்டில் வாழ்ந்திருந்தபடியாலும், இவ்வோலையும் இந்த அரசனின் ஆட்சியில் விடுத்துள்ளதென்று சொல்லத்தகும்.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] காங்கையன் ஓலை [||*] அலங்காரபட்டன்
2. கண்டு கல்வயல்நாயனார் கோயிலில் நாச் எழுந்தருளுவி-
3. த்த விக்கிரம விசைய பிள்ளையாற்க்கு அமுதுபடி உள்ளிட்ட
4. விஞ்சனத்திக்கு யாண்டு அ-வது எதிராண்டு மார்கழி மீ முதல் மு-
5. ன்னுள் நாட்டார் இறைஇலி கழித்த விசலூர் வயலில் பிடாரி
6. வயக்கல் சந்திராதித்தவரை செல்வதாக தந்தோம் [|*] ஓலை பிடி [பா]-
7. [டா]க கொண்டு கல்லுநாட்டி கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக் கொள்-
8. [ளு] வது [|*] இ[ப்ப*]டிக்கு காங்கையன் எழுத்து இ[ப்*]படிக்கு குருகுலதரையன் எழுத்து [||*]

No. 14

(A. R. No. 41 of 1946-47)

Same wall

இது பிற்காலத்தில் மதுரையி லாண்ட சேர்வைக் காரர்களில் மறைக்கப்பன் சேர்வைக்காரனுடைய காரியத்திற்குக் கர்த்தாவான (agent) அட்டவணை வீரப்பெருமான் என்பவன் சாய்க்கருேசிலும், கண்டனூரிலும் இவர் தண்டிவரும் சில வரி வகைகளை, வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையாருக்குக் கொடுத்ததாகக் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகிறது.

மூலம்

1. துந்துபி ஞு
2. பங்குனி மீ
3. எ - மறைக்க-
4. ப்பன் சேர்-
5. வைகாரன-
6. வர்கள் காரி-
7. யத்துக்கு க-
8. ர்த்தரான......
9. [ய]மு......த்தயா பி-
10. பிள்ளை மகன் அ-
11. ட்டவணை வீர-
12. ப்பெருமான் ம-

13. றைக்கப்பன் செ-
14. சருவை கா ற-
15. ரவர்களுக்கு த-
16. ந்ம மாக சாயக்-
17. களூர் கண்டனா-
18. ர் உ [ளத்] து புரவு
19. பயிர் பார்வை
20. கட்டை மிதல்வி
21. ய[மை] எளும் விர-
22. செகரர் நாயகற்கு
23. [உ] த்திராட... றனே (எண்ணே?)
24. அபிஷேக[த்*]துக்கு
25. விட்டு கொடுத்தென் [||*]

No. 15

(A. R. No. 42 of 1946-47)

Same wall, left of entrance.

Kulaśēkhara: 18th year of reign

(Kanni, śu. 10, Monday, Tiruvōṇam=
A.D. 1255, September 13, Monday)

இக்கல்வெட்டு கி. பி. 1237-ம் வருஷத்தில் அரசுபுரிந்த குலசேகர தேவருடைய 18-வது ஆண்டில் (கி. பி. 1255) போடப்பட்டது. சாய்க்களூரவர், ஆதிசண்டேசுரதேவர்பேரில், தங்களுடையதான, 'மும்மடி சோழன்' என்கிற காடாய்க்கிடந்த நிலத்தை, இறைகளைக் கழித்து இறையிலி காராண்மையாக விற்பனை செய்தார். மேற்கூறிய நிலத்தின் 'கடமைமுதல்' ஆன 200 பணத்தை செலுத்துவதற்காக தேவகன்மிகள் முதலியோர் கோவில் சார்பில் வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையாருடைய திருவாபரணமொன்றை விற்று, அப்பணத்தை ஊராரிடம் கொடுத்து நிலத்தை கடமைகளொன்றுமில்லாமல் கோவிலிற்குப் பெற்றுக்கொண்டதாகக் கல்வெட்டில் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] குலசேகரதேவர்க்கு ௰அ-வது கன்னிஞா
யற்று பூர்வபக்ஷத்து தசமியும் திங்க[ட்*] கிழ
2. மையும் பெற்ற திருவோணத்து நாள் கேரளசிங்கவளநாட்டு
பெரும்பூநாட்டுச் சாயிக்களூர்
3. உடையார் வீரசெகரயீஸ்வரமுடையநாயினார் கோயிலில்
ஆதிசண்டேஸ்வர[ர்*]க்கு இ[வ்*]வூர் ஊ[ர்*]-
4. க்குச் சமைந்த ஊரவரோம் யிறயிலி தேவதான பிரமாணம்
பண்ணிக்குடுத்த பரிசாவது [|*]
5. [எ]ங்களூர் இவ்வாடைக் கடமைக்கு பெருமாள்னை
பாண்டியதேவர் திருவாசல் முதலிக-

6. வில் அதிகைமான் தெவர்க்கு இவ்வூர் கடமை இறுத்து ஒன்றுகால் கடமைக்கு ஒரு பொக்கி-
7. ல்லாமல் இக்கடமை முதலுக்கு நாங்கள் இந்நாயனார் விரசெகரீஸ்வரமுடையநாயனார்க்கு
8. இறையிலியாக விற்றுச் செம்பிலுங் கல்லிலும் வெட்டிக் குடுத்த எங்கள் காணியா[ய்] உடை குள-
9. ப்பட்டு காடு எழுந்து கிடந்த எங்கள் காணி மும்முடிசொழன் இறையிலிகாராண்மையா-
10. க விற்பதற்க்கு இவ்வூர்க்கு பெருநான்கெல்லை யாவது கிழ்பாற்கெல்லை இன்னாயனார்
11. தெவதானம் சடங்கிழியான சண்டெஸ்வரநல்லூர் புலகுள எல்லைக்கும் மெலை மீ-
12. பாம்பாற்று நாட்டு காணியான மாளவகண்டன் எல்லைக்கு மெற்க்கும் தென்பாற்க்கெல்லை
13. சாய்க்களூரின்றும் விரமங்கலத் தெற்ப்பொகிற வண்டிபெரு வழிக்கு வடக்கும் மெல் பாற்-
14. கெல்லை கித்தவிளைதபன்மன் குடி இருப்பும் புன்செய்யுமான நிலையில் நின்றும் பெரிய
15. கொட்டைக்கு பொகிற வழிக்குக் கிழக்கும் வட பாற்கெல்லை இந்நாயனார் தெவதானமான முத்-
16. தரையன் குடிக்காட்டு எல்லைக்கும் மாறநெரித் தென்னெல் லைக்கும் சிறுவயல் தென்னெல்-
17. லைக்கும் களாருடையார் கொயிலுக்கு உடக்கு கிழக்கு னெக் கிப் பொன வழிக்கு தெற்க்கும் ஆக இசை-
18. ந்த பெருநான்கெல்லைக் குட்பட்ட நத்தமும் நத்தப் பாழும் குளமுங்குளவாய்த்தலையும் குளப்பர-
19. ப்பும் வயலும் புன்செயும் புளியும் காடுங் களரும் மற்றும் இந் நான்கெல்லைக்குட்ப-
20. பட்டவை அனைத்தும் இற்றை நாளில் இறையிலி காராண் மையாக விற்பொ மிசைந்து விற்ப-
21. தற்க்கு விலை நிற்சயித்து இந்நாயனா[ர்*] திருவாபரணம் விற்று தெவர் அதிகைமான் தெவர்க்கு
22. நாங்கள் இக்கொயில் தெவகன்மிகள் சிகாரியஞ் செய்வார் களைக் கொண்டு ஒடுக்கு வித்த√
23. உா இப்பணம் இருநூறும் விலையாவணகளத்தெ காட்டி எற்றிக் கைச்செ-
24. லவறக்கொண்டு விற்று இறையிலிகாராண்மை ப்ரமாணம் பண்ணிக் கல்லிலும்
25. ச்செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்குடுத்து கல் நாட்டிக்குடுத்தொம் ஆதிசண்டெஸ்வர [ர்*]க்கு
26. இவ்வூரார் இசைந்த ஊரவரொம் இப்படி இறையிலி காரண்மையாக விற்ற மும்மு-

27. டிசோழன் காடும் திருத்தி குளமும் வெட்டி வயலும் திருத்தி இவ்வூர் முன்பெசட்-

28. பட்ட நான்கெல்லைக்குள் உள்ள நீர் நிலங்களும் புன்செ-யாவன புன்செயாகவும் நன்செயா-

29. வன வெட்டித் திருத்திக் கொள்ளச் சந்திராதி[த்*] தவற் செல்ல இறையிலி காராண்மையாக விற் -

30. றுச் செம்பிலும் கல்லிலும் வெட்டி கல்லும் நாட்டி குடுத்தொம் ஆதிசண்டெ-

31. ஸ்வரற்கு ஊராரிசைந்த ஊரவரொம் உ இப்படிக்கு அவை[ர*]யய பஞ்சாப் பல்லவதரையன் எழு-

32. த்து இப்படிக்கு செனுவரையன் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு கண்ட தெவன் மூவெந்தவெளான் எழுத்து....

33. ....ம பல்லவதரையன் எழுத்து....யன் எழுத்து அலங்க[ர]பட்டன் எழுத்து......மூங்க....ழுத்து

34. காங்கைதரையன் எழுத்து அரசுநியாகப்பல்லவதரையன் எழுத்து வெனுவுடையான் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவ.... கணக்குவெ[வ]தன்

No. 16

(A. R. No. 43 of 1946-47)

North wall, *Mahāmaṇḍapa*, same temple

Sundara-Pāṇḍya [*I, Māṟavarman—,*]: *7th year of reign* (=1223 A.D.)

சோழனை வென்று நாட்டைப் பறித்து மறுபடியும் அவனுக்கே அதை முடிசூட்டி, 'சோனுடு வழங்கியருளிய' என்கிற சிறப்புப் பெயரை யணிந்த மாபெரும் பாண்டிய அரசன் சுந்தரபாண்டியதேவர் காலத்தில் 7-ம் ஆண்டில் காங்கேயன் என்பவர், வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையாருக்குச் செய்த உபயத்தை இக் கல்வெட்டுக் கூறுகிறது. தனது பிறந்த நக்ஷத்திரமான திருவாதிரைதோறும் ஈசனுக்கு நெய், பால் அபிஷேகமும், பூசை, அமுதபடி, திருப்பணியாரம் முதலிய விஞ்சனத்தின் செலவிற்காக, இவர் கத்தூரிமங்கலத்தில் தனக்குக் கிடைக்கும் அந்தராயம் முதலான வருமானங்களைக் கொடுத்தார். சித்திரைமாதத் திருவாதிரையன்று அதிகமான பூசை, அபிஷேகங்கள் ஏற்படுத்திவிட்டதால் இவர் இம்மாதத் திருவாதிரையில் பிறந்ததாகத் தெரிய வருகிறது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸிஸ்ரீ [||*] திருபுவன சக்ரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ சொனுடு வழங்கியருளிய சுந்தர-

2. பாண்டியதேவற்க்கு யாண்டு எ-வது காங்கையன் ஓலை[1*] விரசெகரீஸ்ரமுடைய நாய-

3. னூர் க்கொயில் தானத்தா[ர்*] கண்டு சாய்க்களூர் பற்றில் திவிதபற்று[கி*]யு உஞ்செனை கங்கைதொஞ்-

4. ட பெரியனைரனுக்கும் ஜவன் நிச்சனுனை கண்டமிகாம பெரியரையனுக்கும் கண்ட-

5. ன் பகைய ஞ்சா தனுனை தியாககண்டபல்லவதரையனுக்கும் சொழன் பள்ளியான

6. வாணராயனுக்கும் பனங்காடியான விரசொழநல்லூர் வளையிற் ...ற்று கடமை

7. அந்தராயமும் முன்பெ பழந்தெவதானமாய் இந்நாயனார் காராங்கழமை கிங்கலா-

8. க கடமை இறுத்து பொதுகிற கத்தூரிமங்கலத்து கடமைபடி யிலெ சிறுபடி ஒருமா

9. நிலத்துக்கு வளையில் காலால் அளக்கும் உசுள்ள யாகவும் காசு உடுபதும் அந்தராய-

10. மும் நாம் பிறந்தநாள் திருவாதிரைதொறும் நெய்யாடி அருளுகைக்கு தந்தொம் எழா-

11. வது முதல் ஆட்டைக்கு பதின்மூன்று நெய்யாடி அருளக்- கடவதாகவும்

12. ஆடி அருளும் இடத்து சித்திரைமாதத்து திருவாதிரைக்கு இருபத்தைஞ் ஞாழி நெய்யும்

13. . . . .

14. அமுதுபடி நாயனாற்கு இருபத்தைஞ் ஞாழி அரிசியும் பிள்ளை- யாற்கு இரு[நா]-

15 ழி அரிசியும் திருப்பண்ணியாரத்துக்கு அப்ப அமுதுக்கு குறுணி அரிசியும் மற்ற மா-

16. தங்களில் திருவாதிரைநாளில் செ[ந]ய் நானாழியும் அமுதுபடி அரிசி எண்ணாழியும் அ[ப்ப]

17. அமுதுக்கு அரிசி இரு நாழியும் இவையிற்றுக்கு இவ்வூர் கடமை அந்தராய மற்றும் எப்பெ-

18. ற்பட்டனவும் சந்திராதித்தவரை செல[லு*]வதாக கல் நாட்டி திருமலையிலே எழுத்தும் வெட்டி-

19. க்குடுத்து பெரும்பூர் வயலில் நஞ்சவயக்கல் உள்ளிட்ட நிலம் அஞ்சுமாவும் நாற்றுக்க-

20, ல்லும் நாளொன்றுக்கு இருநாழி பால் ஆடி அருளவும் நாம் பிறந்த நாள்தொறும் நெ

21. ய்யொடெ கூட நானாழி பால் ஆடி அருளக்க[ட *]வதாக சந்திராதித்தவரை காராண் கிழமை

22. யாக நி[ர் *]வாத்து கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக் கொள்[ள *] இப்படிக்கு இவை காங்கைய-

23. ன் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவை சுந்தரபாண்டியமும்வெந்த வெளான் எழுத்து [||*]

No. 17

(A. R. No 44 of 1946-47)

South wall, proper right of entrance

Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya: 4+3rd year of reign

பாண்டிய மன்னனான மாறவர்மனாகிய சுந்தரபாண்டியதேவருடைய காலத்தில் இக்கல்வெட்டுப் போடப்பட்டுள்ளது. இவருடைய அதிகாரி காங்கேயன், கருணைவலைக்குடியில் பாலக்குடி என்கிற நிலப்பரப்பில் தனக்குரியவையாகிய சில இறைகள் முதலான வருமானங்களைக் கருணைவலைக்குடி நாயினார்க்குப் பூசை அமுதுபடிச் செலவிற்காகக் கொடுத்தார். இந் நிலத்தைக் கருணைவலைக்குடிக் கோவிலார், அவ்வூரார் பக்கல் ஆதிசண்டேசுரர்பேரில் விலைக்கு வாங்கினபடியால், மேற்கண்ட வஜாவை (remission) காங்கேயன் அருள்செய்து, பாண்டிய அரசனுடைய 4-வது எதிர் 3-வது அரசாண்டு முதல் நடக்கும்படியாகக் கட்டளையிட்டார்.

மூலம்

1. ... ...
2. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] காங்கையன் ஓலை [||*] பெரும்பூணு-
3. ட்டு இசனூர்பார் கருணைவனக்குடியில் நய-
4. னார் ஸ்ரீகோயில் தேவகன்மியன் சிகாரி[ய*]ஞ்செ[ய்*]-
5. வ்வார்கள் ஸ்ரீமாஹேஸ்வர கண்காணி செ[ய்*] வ்வார்
6. கள் கண்டு இன்னாயினார் இவ்வூரார் பக்கல் சண்-
7. டேஸ்வரவிலை திருநாமத்துக் காராண்கிழமையாக வி-
8. லைகொண்டுடைய இவ்வூர் பாலக்குடிக்காடு காரி·
9. [Damaged]
10. சாத்தக்குடிக்கு பெருநாங்கு எல்லை கீழ் எல்லை வண்-
11. ணான் எம்பனுக்கு மெற்க்கும் தென் எல்லை கருணைலக்-
12. குடி எல்லைக்கு வடக்கும் மெற்கெல்லை புதுவயல் ஆச-
13. றதிக்குக் கிழக்கும் வடவெல்லை பூர்தொட்டக்கு-
14. ளத்தன் வாக்குத் தெற்க்கும் ஆக இ[னை*]சந்த பெருநான்கெ
15. ல்லைக்குள்ளகப்பட்ட வயலும் குளமும் குளவாய்த்-
16. தலையும் கிழ்நொக்கிய கிணறும் மெனொக்கின மரமும்
17. மற்றும் எப்பேர்ப்பட்டனவும் விலைகொண்டு அனு-
18. பவிக்கிற இவ்வயலில் ஸ்ரீகோமாறுபன்மரான திரிபு-
19. வனச்சக்ரவத்திகள் சுந்தரபாண்டிய தேவற்க்கு யாண்-
20. டு-௪ வது எதிர் மூன்றவது
21. முதல் கடமை எவல்த்-
22. தெவையநெல்லு கா-
23. சு உள்ளிட்ட மற்றும் எப்-
24. பெற்பட்ட இறை குடிமை-
25. க்கும் இத்தெவற்க்கு காலாவ-
26. து எதிர் இரண்டாவது வரை கி-
27. ழ்நாளில் உள்ளிறை குடிமைக-

28. ளும் இந்தக் கருணவலக்குடி
29. ளுயினர்க்கு திருப்படிமாற்று
30. உள்ளிட்ட நிமந்தங்களுக்கு சந்தி[ராதி*]த்தவர் செல்வ தாகக் கு-
31. டுத்தோம் இப்படிக்கு கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்-
32. டிக்கொள்க [।*] இவை நந்தியராயன் எழுத்து [॥*]

No. 18

(A. R. No. 45 of 1946-47)

Same wall

இக் கல்வெட்டினுடைய பெரும்பாகம் உடைந்து காணமற் போன படியால் இதனுடைய சாராம்சம் தெரியவில்லை. ஏதோ ஒரு தானத்தைக் குறிப்பது போல் காணப்படுகிறது. அரசனுடைய பெயர் திரு புவனச் சக்கரவத்தி 'கோனேரின்மை கொண்டான்' என்று கூறப் பட்டுள்ளது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [॥*] திரிபுவனச்சக்கரவத்தி கோநேரின்மை கொண்டான் சாய்க்கனூர் உடையார் வீரசெகரீஸ்வரமுடைய நாயனார் கொயி—(rest lost)
2. டோம் இவ்வூர்களில் வெட்டி முட்டாவாள் பச்சை விநி-யோகம் மற்றும் எப்பெற்பட்டனவும் இறையிலிகாராணமை—(rest lost)

No. 19

(A. R No. 46 of 1946-47)

Same wall

Kulaśēkhara [I, Māṟavarman]

இது எம்மண்டலமுங்கொண்ட குலசேகர தேவருடைய அரசாட்சி யில் போடப்பட்டது. உடைந்து சிதைந்துபோனபடியால் இதன் கருத்து முழுவதும் புலன்படவில்லை. வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையாருக்குப் புது வயலிலும், சிறுபுதுவயலிலுமுள்ள வயலும், பூந்தோட்டமும, 'குடி நீக்காதேவதான'மாகக் கொடுத்த நோக்கமுள்ளதாகத் தெரிய வரு கிறது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [॥*] ஸ்ரீமக்கித்திக்குமெல் ஸ்ரீ திருபுவனச் சக்கர வத்திகள் எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டு அருளிய ஸ்ரீ குலசேகர தேவ[ர*]க்கு யாண்டு ௰௪-ல் (Rest lost).
2. நிர்வாத்து விசலூர்பாற் புதுவயலும் சிறுபுதுவயலான இடைக் குளத்து வயலும் பூந்தொட்ட வயலும் இவ்வயல்களில் குளங் களும் கால்களு—

3. த்தலைகளும் இவ்வயல்களுக்கு உரிச்சானவை எப்பெற்பட்டன வும் பற்றி சந்திரா [தி*] ச்சவரை இவற்க்கு [கு *] டி திங்கா தெவதானமாக பற்றி இந்நாயனார் கொயி—

4. செம்பிலும் வெட்டிகொள்ளுவாராகவும் இப்படி சம்மதித்து இறையிலிகாராண்கிழமையாக பிடிபாடு பண்ணிக் குடுத்தோம் உடையார் விர செகரீஸ்வரமுடைய நாயினார்—

(Continuation lost.)

Below the above, probably belonging to it:—

1. யான விரசெகரநல்லூரும் கத்தூரிமங்கலமும் கிழை வெயிற்க்குடி..ம் மூன்றுவது காத்திகை மா..

Below the above:—

1. க்கண்டன் தற்குறி..வெற்•.கண்டாண[ன்] எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவகள் சொல்ல இப்பிடிபாடு எழுதினேன் சாக்கன்னூர் கணக்கு....

2. யநாயன் தற்குறி க..ஆதியாண்டான் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவை பெருமான் கண்டன் தற்குறிக்கு இக்கொயிலில் கணக்கு விரசெகரவெளா.

(Rest lost.)

No. 20

(A. R. No. 47 of 1946-47)

Same wall

Śrīvaladēva: 8th year of reign

இக் கல்வெட்டுப் பாண்டிய ஸ்ரீவலதேவராசாட்சியில் 8-வது ஆண்டில், வெள்ளாளைவிடங்க னபயப்பஞ்சரனை, விருதராசபயங்கர அதலையூர்நாடாழ்வான், ஸ்ரீ கல்வயல் மஹாதேவருக்கு சிவராத்திரி பூசைத் திருப்படிமாற்று முதலிய விஞ்சனங்களின் செலவிற்காகச் சிவசாயக்களூர் வயக்கலில் இருமாவரை விஸ்தீர்ணமுள்ள நிலத்தை தானம் செய்ததாகக் கூறுகிறது.

மூலம்

1. திருபுவன.
2. ச்சக்கரவ-
3. த்திகள் ஸ்ரீவ-
4. லதேவற்க்கு யா-
5. ண்டு அ - வது வெள்ள[ா]-
6. ளைவிடங்கன் அபை-
7. யபஞ்சரனை விருதரா-
8. சபயங்கர அதளையூர்-
9. நாடாழ்வானென் கல்வயல்
10. மஹாதெவற்க்கு ஶிவராத்ரி
11. க்குத் திருப்படிமாற்று உள்ளி-

12. ட்ட விஞ்சனத்துக்கு நிர்வார்-
13. த்த நிலமாவது [|*] கங் கா-
14. ணியான சிவசாய்க்களூர் வ-
15. யலில் பரணூர் வயக்கல்தடி இ-
16. ரண்டில் ணல் நில இருமாவரை-
17. யும் இத்திவதத்துக்கு சந்தி-
18. [ரா*]தித்[த*]வற் செல்வதாக நிர்வா-
19. த்து குடுத்தேன் வெள்ளா-
20. ளை விடங்கனை அவையப-
21. ஞ்சரன் விருதராசஷயங்கர
22. அதளையூர் ஞட[ா*]ழ்வானென்
23. இப்படிக்கு இவ்விருதராசபயங்-
24. கரனெனான் எழுத்த[||*]

No. 21

(A. R. No. 48 of 1946-47)

Same wall

Māṟavarman Suṇdara-Pāṇḍya: (date lost)

மூலம

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஶ்ரீ [|*] கொமாறபன்மரான திரிபுவனச் சக்கர ... ந்தர பாண்டியதெவ... ...
2. ... ... ண பட்டனு ... . இ. யூர்வி ... ...
3. ... செங்கழுநிர் எம்பலு ... ... இவ்வெம்பல் புரவும் இவூர் கிழ .. .. ம் கிழ்ஞெக்கிய கி.. ..
4. நிச்சயித்த டல் எழு கலெ.. .. இருதுணிக்குறுணி அறு நாழி.. .. கும் எற்றி கா..
5. ... ... விளைந்த நிலத்திற்[கு] ... ... நிக்கி ஒன்று பாதி [யா]க வரிகல ... ... ரு...ணக்கு எழு...னெ இரு ணக்க.
6. ... ... வுக்கு இவக்கரு ... ... ன்[று] இப்பு[ரவரி] ... ... வொபாதியிலெ கல்லு க... (rest lost)

No. 22

(A. R. No. 49 of 1946-47)

Door-jamb, proper right, *Mahāmaṇḍapa*, same temple

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஶ்ரீ [||*]
2. உடை[டயா]ர்
3. [தி]ருமண்ட-
4. பம் மாளவ

5. செங்கன் திரு-
6. மண்டபம் [||*]

No. 23
(A. R. No. 50 of 1946-47)
North wall, *Mahāmaṇḍapa*, same temple
Sundara-Pāṇḍya: 8+1st year

பாண்டிய மன்னனான சுந்தரபாண்டியர் அரசுபுரிந்த 8-வதின் எதிராமாண்டு தை மீ 29-ம் தேதி அழகன்கண்டனான காங்கேயன் கோவிலிற்காக அரை மா நிலமும் ஐந்துபணம் குருதக்ஷிணையும் கொடுத்ததாகக் கல்வெட்டில் காணப்படுகிறது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] சுந்தரபாண்டிய தேவற்கு யாண்டு அ-வதின் எதிராமாண்டு தை மாத உ௰கூ-தி-அழகன்
2. கண்டனான காங்கயனென் எங்கள் முதலியா [ற்] சிற்றாரி ஊரில் பாதியும் உன்றனூரில் ஐந்து நிலமுற்றவ[1] இறப்பினப-
3. டி அரைமாவும் ௫ ருக்ஷிணையாக உதகம் பண்ணி கல்லு நாட்டிக் க[ல்*]விலும் வெட்டி குடுத்தென் உதூ ராஷ்ட்ரவ-
4. ரை அழகன் கண்டனாந கா[ங்*]கெய என் இப்படிக்கு காங்கயன் எழுத்து அருளிச்செயல்படிக்கு குருகுலத்தரையன் எழுத்து [||*]

No. 24
(A. R. No. 51 of 1946-47)
Same wall
(Fragments of inscribed stones built into the wall)

இது பெரும்பாலும் உடைந்து சிதைந்தபடியாலும் தொடக்கமும் முடிவும் இல்லாமையாலும் மீதியுள்ள வரிகள் ஒன்றுக்கொன்று தொடர்பில்லாமலிருப்பதாலும் கல்வெட்டின் கருத்து விளங்கவில்லை. தனித்தனிக் கருத்துக்களுள்ள இரண்டு மூன்று சாசனங்கள் கோவிலின் சுவரில் பிற்காலத்தில் திருப்பணிகள் செய்யும் பொழுது, தாறுமாறாகப் பதிக்கப்பட்டதென்று தெரியவருகிறது. ஆயினும், இதன் முதற் பாகத்தில், பாலையூருடையானுடன் சிலர் கலந்து ஏதோ ஒரு ஒப்பந்தத்தை நிறைவேற்றியதாகக் காணப்படுகிறது. இப்பாகத்தினடியிற் காணும் கல்வெட்டின் பகுதி, பாண்டிய அரசனான வீரபாண்டியனுடைய பெயரும், தன்மராயனுடைய பெயரும், அவர்கள் செய்த ஏதோ ஒரு தானத்தையும் கூறுவதுபோல் தெரிகிறது.

மூலம்

1. ...தெவதானமாக..
2. லங்கு [டி] சந்திராதி [த்]

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1. *ற்றவ* is written below the line.

3. [டி] க் கொடுத்தொ
4. டாழ்வானென் இப்ப
5. முவெந்த வெளான் எ
6. உ *

(On the same stone)

1. திருபுவனச் சக்காரவத்திகள்—
2. மூன்றுவதின் எதிர் இரண்—
3. பாலையுடையானுன [கு] —
4. பெறையனும் சொழகொனும்—
5. [ம்] கண்டநாராயணதெவனு [ம்] —
6. னற்கு மிண்டானும் தூத [ன்] —
7. [வ] ானும் துலையாதன் வாள—
8. பெரிய நாயனும் பிள்ளா [ன்] ம —
9. ராயனும் ஆக இவ்வனைவ—
10. த்து நானுமறிவென் எயிற்றார்—
11. வெள்ளன் திருவெண்காடன் எழுத்து—
12. ண மெழுதினென் யாதவராயர் க—
13. உடையான் திரு [மி] ழலை நாட்டு—

(On the same stone, below the above)

1. ஸ்ரீ மெல் கித்திக்கு மெல் ஸ்ரீ கெ [ர] —
2. னச்சக்கரவத்திகள் திரிவிரபாண்டி—
3. வது மார்கழி மாதத்து ஒரு நாள்—
4. ற்று மிபாம்பாற்று நாட்டுச் சொ—
5. மன் கம்பாண்டான் தன்மராயனெ—
6. உடையார் விரசெகரீஸ்வ ரமுடை—
7. ளங்கிழமையாக சாதனம் பண்[ணி]—
8. [க்]கு நமக்குக் கட்டிவித்த சந்திக்[கு]—
9. அமுதுபடிக்கு உள்ளிட்ட விஞ்சனத்—
10. மங்கலத்து வயலில் இக்கு—

(Fragment)

No. 25

(A. R. No. 52 of 1946-47)

Same wall

Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya: 8+1st year of reign

இக் கல்வெட்டு, சாயக்களூர் ஊராரும், சாயக்களூர் நாட்டவரும் செய்த ஓர் தர்மத்தை விளக்குகிறது. இவர்கள், தங்களுடைய பற்றுன சிற்றியூரை, ஆதியில் யாதவராயர்க்குக் கொடுத்திருந்தார்கள். அவர தற்குரிய வரிகளைச் செலுத்தாமலிருந்தபடியால் ஊரைத் தாம் மறுபடியும் மீட்டுக் கொண்டனர். இப்பொழுது அவ்வூரை, ஸ்ரீ ஸவிதாசாரியரான தக்ஷிணாமூர்த்தி சிவமுனிவர்க்கு, வரி இல்லாமல், இறையிலிச்சருவமான்னியமாகக் கொடுத்தார்கள். தக்ஷிணாமூர்த்திசிவர்,

பாண்டிநாட்டின் மிழலையூர்ப்பட்டினத்திலிருக்கும் ஓர் மடத்தைச் சார்ந்த முனிவர். சோழநாட்டின் திருநாகபட்டினத்திலுள்ள மடாதிபதிகளான பிராமணசந்தானத்தைச் சார்ந்தவராகத் தெரிய வருகிறது.

இந்த சாஸனம் பாண்டிய அரசனான சடையவர்மர் சுந்தரபாண்டிய தேவருடைய எட்டாவதின் எதிராமாண்டு தை மீ 21-ஆம் தேதி இயற்றியது.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கோச்சடைபன்மரான திரிபுவ[ன*]ன ச்சக்ர வத்திகள் சுந்திரபாண்டிய தேவர்[க்*]கு எட்டாவதின்
2. எதிராமாண்டு தை மாதம் உடுக—தியதி சொழமண்டலத்து திரு நாகப்பட்டினத்துரோமான - ருமடத்து [பி] ராமன்னி யர் சந்தா-
3. னத்து எழுந்தருளி யிருக்கு[ம்*] முதலியார் பரிஷத்ர்களில் பாண்டிநாட்டு மி[ழ]லையூர்ப்பட்டி-
4. னத்து திருநட்டமாட ஸ்ரமுடைய நாயனார் திருமடைவிள. [ா*]கத்து தெற்கில் மடத்தில் எழுந்தருளி யி-
5. ருக்கும்[ஸ்ரீ]ஸவிதாசாரியர் தக்ஷிணாமூர்த்தி பரிவந்கு கொ[ள*]சிங்கவளநாட்டு பெரும்புநாட்டு சாக்கனூ
6. ர் நாட்டி[ல்] சாக்கனூர் ஊர்க்குச் சமைந்த ஊரவரும் நாட்-டுக்குச் ச[மை*]மந்த நாட்டவரும்
7. எங்கள் பற்றில் முன்னாள் யாதவராயற்கு நாங்கள் [வி]றப் பா[க*]க்குடுத்த சிற்றிஊர் யிவர்யிறக்-
8. க மாட்டாமையால் நான்கெல்லைக்குள்ளூ தெவதானம் கம்கானம் யிவை நீங்கலா -
9. க இவ்வூர்ப் பெருநான்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலமும் புன் செ[ய்*] நத்தமனை குளமிரண்டும்
10. குளவாத்தலையும் புற்றுந்தேற்றும் உடும்பொடி ஆமை புரளி கி[ழ்*]னொக்கிய கிணறும் மெனொக்கி -
11. ய மரமும் ஊரணியுடைப்பும் நிருஞ்சிரு மற்றும் இந்த சற வாரிப்பெரு [ந]ான் கெல்லைக்குளகப்ப
12. ட்ட எற்ப்பெறப்பட்ட சமத்த பிரூத்திகளில் ஒன்று செம்பாதி உதகம் பண்ணி சந்த்ராதித்தவ-
13. ரை யிறையிலி யா[க*]க்குடுத் தொம்மிந்த மட்டப்புறத்தால் வர்[த*]தெவை வெட்டி முட்டா-
14. ன் தறியிறை தட்டார்ப்பாட்ட மற்று எப்பெறப்பட்டனவும் தவி[ர்]க்க இறையிலியாகக் குடுத்-
15. தொம் முதலியாற்க்கு இப்படி குடுத்த சிற்றிஊரில் பெருநான் கெல்லைக்கு

15. ஷ்ப்பட்டதில் ஒன்றுபாதி கல்லும் நாட்டிக் குடுத்து இற்றை நாளில் உ
17. ரளூர் வயலில் அஞ்ஞூறறுவன [லமா] யிவன் இறுக்க மாட்டாமையால் எ -
18. ங்கள் முதலியார்க்கு உதகம் பண்ணிக் குடுத்த இறுப்பின் படி நிலம் அரைமா -
19. வும் இறையிலியாக கல்லும் நாட்டிக் குடுத்து யிப்படிக்கு உடையார் விரசெக -
20. ரமுடைய நாயனார் கொயில் திருமலையிலெ கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக் குடுத்தொம்
21. முதலியார்க்கு முன்செல்லப்பட்ட நாட்டவரொம் யிப்படிக்கு நாட்டார் பணிக்க நாட்டுக் கணக்குப் பெ
22. ..நாட்டு வெளான் எழுத்து [||*]

No. 26.

(A. R. No. 53 of 1946-7)

Same Wall.

[Fragments of inscribed stones built into the wall].

உடைந்துபோன சில சாஸனக் கற்கள் ஒன்றுக்கொன்று சம்பந்தமில்லாமல் சுவரில் பதிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவைகளிரண்டு மூன்று தனித்தனி சாஸனக் கற்களைச் சார்ந்தவைகளென்று சொல்லத் தகும். பழவேலங்குடி, சாய்க்களூர் என்கிற ஊர்ப் பெயர்களும், தென்மலியான் விக்கிரம பா(ண்டியர்) என்பவர் பெயர்களும் குறிப்பிடுகிறது.

மூலம்

Fragment I.

1. பழவெலங்குடி—
2. வத்திகள் ஸ்ரீகுல—
3. ன்ருவதின் எ—
4. யன் ஆளுடை—
5. யூர் நாடாழ்வ—
6. யக்களூர் உடைய—
7. தெவற்கு திருய—

Fragment II.

1. ா ருன் கொ—
2. —த்துக் குடுத்
3. —செல்வதாக—
4. —வன் விரஅத
5. —கு இவை தியா
6. —பல மாஹெ
7. —முடுக்கு வய[ல]

8. —சேகரதேவற்கு
9. —வது கண்டன்

Fragment III.

1. த்துங்கசோழ அதனைபூ—
2. ாட்டுச் சாடைக்களூர் விரசெ—
3. ற்கு நாம் கண்டிகை கட்—
4. முடுக்கு வயல் இறையிலி—
5. ற்பகல் செல்லக்கல்லு—
6. த்துங்க சோழ அதனை [பூ]
7. வழுதியதரையன் எழுத்—

Fragment IV.

1. சேகரநல்லூரும்.—
2. ம் வெளி அரிசியும்—
3. லூரில் பத்திலொன்—
4. ற்றில் இறையம் அரு—
5. நென்மலியான [இ]—
6. யும் முழுகு பிலியு—
7. மையும் இம்ம[உ]—
8. ம் [கி]ர் வார்த்துக் குடு—
9. சான் விருதராச பய—

Fragment V.

1. க ஷ்ரதேவ—
2. ரமுடைய—
3. [ண்]டு மிழலை—
4. ணிப்பற்று—
5. ளுயளுயளு—
6. விக்கிரம பா—
7. ண்டாவது—
8. க்கிழைம—
9. இப்படி சந்தி—
10. லும் செம்பிலும்—

Fragment VI.

1. சாய்க்—
2. ன்மரா—
3. முங்கொ—
4. கூ பூவ—
5. பெற்ற உத்—
6. டுச்சாய்க்—
7. ர் கொயில் ஆதி—

Fragment VII.

1. மி
2. ரண
3. க்க
4. டி
5. கெ
6. பெ

Fragment VIII.

1. பெரும்பூர் நாட்—
2. முடைய மஹாதேவ—
3. ர் வார்த்துக் குடுத்த—
4. ரக சந்திராதித்தவ—
5. டுத்தோம் குலொ—
6. ரனென் இவை—
7. ஶ்வர ரக்ஷிக்க உ—

No. 27.

(A. R. No. 54 of 1946-47).

Same Wall.

[Five fragments of inscribed stones built into the wall].

இதுவும் நெ. 26 போன்றதே. ஐந்துருப்படிகளாக உடைந்த சாஸனக் கற்களை இவ்விடத்தில் சேர்த்துக் கட்டியுள்ளனர். கற்களின் வரிகள் ஒன்றுக்கொன்று தொடர்பில்லாமலிருக்கின்றபடியால் சில பெயர்களைத் தவிர வேறொன்றும் தெரிய வருவதில்லை.

மூலம்

Fragment I..

1, ன்னுற்க்கு இவ்வூர் இராசனாராயண பெருந் தெருவில் பெ[ரு*] முர்கிழவ....சொழ....ருமுன்பு இடுகிற திருவிளக்குகளுக்கு உடல[ா*]க்க நாங்கள் இன்னாயினார் திருப்பி—

2. ரயர்க் குடிநீங்காதெவதானமாக தாம் உழுதும் உழுவாற்கு குடுத்தும் இவ்வ....ல்....ல்நா..கெ.... மெல்நொக்கிய மரமும் கீழ்நொக்கிய கிணரும் மாமரமும் குளங்களுங் குளவா—

3. றயிலி காராண்கிழமையாக சந்த்ராதித்தவரை செல்லுவதாகவும்....கில்க....இப்படி ச[ந்*]த்ராதித்தவரை செல்லுவிதாக இந்நாயனார் கொயில் திருமலையிலே கல்லிலும் —

4. .இப்படிக்கு உய்யவந்த பல்லவதரையன் தற்குறியும்....யன் தெவாண்டான் எழுத்து இப்படி காங்கையரையன் எழுத்து இப்படி கங்கபெ—

Fragment II.

1. ண்டெஷீர[ர்*]க்கு மெல்படி—
2. பு அழிஞ்சுகன் ராயகிட....—
3. சலில் திருவாவரக்காவுடையான்—
4. .டி இசை மிகாம பல்லவதரையன்—

Fragment III.

1. கொளசிங்கவளநாட்டு பெரும்பூநாட்டுச் சாக்கனூர் உடை யார் விரசெ[ச*]கரீஷீரமுடையனுயனூர் ஆ—
2. ந்து முதுநில் மா[ய்*] காடு எழுந்து உடைகுளப் பட்டு கரை யுங் காலும் அழிஞ்சு வயல்களும் முதுகாடு எழுந்து வ—
3. இந்நாயனூர்க்கு திருவிளக்கு இடுவாராகவும் தி[ரு*]விளக்கு இடும் இட[த்*]து தமக்கு வெண்டு வாரைக் கொண்டு இரு விட்பாராகவும் இ[வ*]ஆரில் தெற்கு—
4. சைந்த ஊரவரோம் இப்படிக்கு இருங்கொளன் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவை செ[ஞ]வரையன் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவை

Fragment IV.

1. யூர் ஊரா[ர்*] இ[ை*]சந்த ஊரவரோம்—
2. கயில் இக்குளங்களும் வெட்டிக்—
3. திருகுளத்தங்கரையில் தெசிவினு—
4. ன் தற்குறியும் இதன் பின்பு அரசரா

Fragment V.

1. இன்னுயினு[ர்*]க்கு. திருவிளக்கு புறத்துக்குக்காராங் கிழ[ை]
2. [ர]ல்களுங் கண்டு வயல்களும் வதியும் இட்டு கெடு நெற்றிப்
3. [ய]க பிள்ளையார்க்கு திருப்படி மாற்றுக்கு புது குளத்து வயலில் நடு
4. க்கு னும் எழுந்து இதன் பின்பு....

No. 28.

(A. R. No. 55 of 1946-7).

Same Wall.

[Fragments of inscribed stones built into the wall].

இதுவும் மேற்கண்ட இரு கல்வெட்டுகளைப் போல் உடைந்திருக்கிறது. ஆயினும், இதன் சாராம்சம் தெரியவருகிறது. பாண்டியனை பராக்கிரமபாண்டியன் தன் பெயரால், கோவிலில் தொடங்கிய 'பராக்கிரமபாண்டியன் சந்தி' என்கிற விசேட பூசையின் செலவிற்காகச் செய்த தர்மத்தைக் கூறுகிறது. இந்தப் பூசை, அரசன் பிறந்த நக்ஷத்திரமான ஆனி அவிட்டந்தோறும் நடப்பதற்காகக் கட்டளையிடப் பெற்றுள்ளது.

மூலம்

Fragment I.

1. நாயனாற்கு நம்பேரால் கட்டின பராக்கிரம பாண்டியன் சந்திக் கும் நாம் பிறந்த நாள் ஆனிஅவிட்டம் நித்தமாக எழுந்தரு ளுகிற திருநாளுக்கு—
2. நான் முதல் சந்திராதித்தவரை செல்லக் குடுத்தோம் நம் ஓலை பிடிபாடாகக் கொண்டு கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்கொ

Fragment II.

1. பொன் நூற்றைம்பது இப்பொன் நூற்றைம்பதுக்கும் நாம்பு—
2. [ளை]வ வாணாதராயன் எழுத்து உ இப்படிக்கு இவை பொ[ன்]—

No. 29.

(A. R. No. 56 of 1946-47).

South Wall, *mahāmaṇḍapa,* same temple *Māṟavarman Kulasēkhara I: 7th year of reign.*

(=A. D. 1275).

இக் கல்வெட்டு கி. பி. 1268-ஆம் வருஷம் அரசுபுரிந்த பாண்டிய சக்கரவர்த்தியாகிய, எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டருளிய குலசேகர தேவருடைய ஏழாம் அரசாண்டில் (கி.பி. 1275) இயற்றியது. வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையார் கோவிலின் ஸ்தானத்தார்கள் குலசேகர பட்டினத்துப் பெருமூர்கிழவனான செல்வன் உடையப்பிள்ளைத் தம்பிரான் தோழற்கு, வீரசேகர நல்லூர் என்கிற ஊரை 'திருநந்தவனப் புறமாக'க் கொடுத்த கருத்தையுடையது. இவ்வூரைத் தானம் பெற்றதற்காக இவர் கோவிலுக்காக நந்தவன மொன்றை அமைக்கக் கட்டளை யிடப் பெற்றவனாய், 'ஆயிரங்குவளைக்காவுடையான்' என்கிற திருநாமத்தைக் கொண்ட நந்தவனத்தை யமைத்தான். மேலும், வீரசேகர நல்லூரில் விளையும் பல்வகைத் தானியங்களில் ஓர் பாகம் கோவிலுக்கும், மீதியுள்ள பாகத்தைத் தான் அநுபவித்துக் கொண்டு திருநந்தவனத்தைப் பாதுகாக்கக் கட்டளை பெற்றான்.

மூலம்

1: ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கோமாறபன்மரான திருபுவனச் சக்கிரவத்திகள் எம்மண்ட-
2. லமுங்கொண்டருளிய ஸ்ரீகுலசேகரதேவற்கு யாண்டு எ-வது வைகா-
3. சிமாதம் இருப்பத்து அஞ்சாந்தியதி கெரளசிங்கவளநாட்டு பெரும்பூர் நாட்டு சாய்க்கனூர் உடை-
4. யார் வீரசெகரமுடைய நாயனார் கொயில் தானத்தொம் கொளசிங்கவள நாட்டு அருவியூரான் குலசெ-

5. காரபட்டினத்துப் பெருமூர் கிழவன் செல்வன் உடையப் பிள்ளைத் தம்பிரான் தொழற்கு ப்ரமாணம் பண்ணிகு-

6. டுத்த பரிசாவது [|*] இந்நாயனார்க்கு இத்தம்பிரான் தொழர் செய் ஆயிரநருவானைக்காவுடையான்

7. திருநந்த வனத்தி[ர்*]க்கு புறவெஷமாக இந்தவயல் க[ா*] ராண்மை பெரிய குளத்துக்குள்

8. விரசெகரநல்லூர் மூன்றனில் குளமும் வயலும் நான் கெல்லையும் வயல் இரக்கை-

9. லும் காலும் குளமும் வயலும் உடை குளப்பட்டு வி. பற்ற காடு மர......

10. ளப்பட்டுப் பெருங்காடு..........

11. .....வரம்பும் இழந்து நெடுநாள் பாழாய்கிட-

12. ..யாலெ இதற்குத் தம்பிரான்தொழன் செய்த(து) திருநந்தவனத்து நந்தவனபபுறமாக் [கி]

13. த்திருத்தி ஆக்கிக்கொண்டு செய்யுமென்று நாங்கள் வெண்டிக் கொள்கையில் இந்நாயனார்க்கு இவனை..

14. விளையாதப்படியாலெ தைமாதத்திலெ அமுதுபடி முட்ட..இந்நாயனார்த் திருவாபரணங்களிலெ சாத்து கி-

15. டம்பணையமாக வைத்து வாங்கிச் சாத்த வெண்குகை-

16. [யி]ல் இப்பட்டம் வாங்கித் தம்பிரான் தொழர் பக்கலிலெ பணம் வாங்கி. குடு[த்]து இக்குடிக் காடான ஊர் செகரநல்லூர்[க்]-

17. கெல்லையாவது கிழ்பா[ர்] [க்*] கெல்லை பெரியகுளத்து வாய்க்கு மெற்க்கும் தென்பார்கெல்லை மாத்தூருக்கும் பெ[ரு]-

18. வழிக்கு வடக்கும் மெல்பாற்கெல்லை உப்புபெரு வழிக்கு கிழக்கும் வடபாற்கெல்லை அரிவிரகண்டன் காலு-

19. த்தெற்கும் இந்ந[ங்*] கெல்லையும் உண்ணில மொழிவின்றியெ இவர் செய்த திருநந்தவ[ன]த்துக்கு நந்தவனப் புறமாக வெட்டி

20. த் திருத்தி ஆக்கிக் கொள்வாராகவும் குளமும் திருத்தி வயலுமாக்கினால் விளைஞ்ச நிலத்துக்கு காராண் கிழமையாக நாயனார்[க்]-

21. குளிவிதப்படிக்கு ஒரு மா விளைஞ்ச நிலத்துக்கு விரசெகரன் கொலால் கலநெல்லு அளப்பத-

22. ாகவும் இருபூவிளைஞ்ச நிலத்துக்கு இதில் பாதி அளப்பாராகவும் என்று இனை வரகு புல்லு வி-

23. ளைஞ்ச நிலத்துக்கு இதில் பாதி அளப்பாராகவும் இப்படியால் வந்த நெல்லு புல்லும் இனையும்

24. வரும் இப்படி பண்டாரத்துக்கு அளப்பாராகவும் இப்படி வெட்டித் திருத்தி ஆக்கி இப்படி செய்வார-
25. ாகவும் இப்படி செய்யுமிடத்து நமக்கு வேண்டுவோற்க்கு குடுத்துச் செய்வாராகவும் இந்த தப்பிரா-
26. ந்தோழர் செய்த திருநந்த வனத்துக்கு பேறஷ மாவதாகவும்.. ..டி கொள்ளும் கடமை ஒழியவெ டெ[ச]ன்-
27. றச் சொல்லக் கடவோமல்லவும் இவ்வயலிலெ மேனொக்கிய மரமும் கிழனொக்கின கிணரும் வயல்னொக்கின குளமு-
28. ம் குளவாய்க்கால் மடையும் உடைப்பும் சாமக்குமவை உயதும் இப்படி செய்யப் பட்டவை (யெ)-
29. யெல்லாம் செய்தும் செய்வித்துக் கொள்ளக் கடவாராகவும் இப்படி. . . த்து. . . . வர சேல்ல விரசெகரநல்லூர் நான்-
30. கெல்லையும் உண்ணிலமொழிவின்றியெ இவர் செய்த ஆயிரம் திருவானைக்காவுடையார் திருநந்தவனத்திக்கு பேறஷமாரு கல்லிலும்
31. செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக் கொள்வாராக சந்திராதித்தவர் செல்லப் பிரமாணம் பண்ணிக் குடுத்தோம் தப்பிரான் தோழர் [க்*]கு விசைகாமுடைய நாயனார் கொயில் தானத்தோம்
32. இப்படிக்கு, ை. . . . க்கு . . . . பட்டன் எழுத்து இப் படிக்கு . . . .
33. ட்பிள்ளை எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு ... பெர்நாயன் எழுத்து இப்ப டிக்கு இவை உடையான் பான்த...
34. ...ன் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவை உடையான் பொன்மாளி எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவை
35. அலங்காரப்பட்டன் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு அதளையூர் நாடாழ் வான் எழுத்து இவை தில்லை நாயகன் விரணை கஉத்த பட்டன் எழுத்து
36. இப்படிக்கு இர[ா*] கெம்பிரபட்டன் எழுத்து அலங்காரப் பட்டன் எ[ழு*]த்து இப்படிக்கு அதளையூர் ஞட்டுப்பட்டன் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவை தில்லை நாயகன் விரணை கஉத்த பட்டன் எழுத்து
37. இப்படிக்கு இவை சம்பந்தன் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு இவை சொரியம் கங்கரையனை தெவன் எழுத்து இவர்கள் சொல்ல இவ்வோலை எழுதினென் ரிஷியூர்சி[ர]வஸ[ர*]ணரில் கன் [க*]
38. ஸஹாவாதியான ஸ்ரீ வஞ்சாக்ஷர ஸட்டன் எழுத்து:.. [க்கு] இ .. கொன் .... இப்படிக்கு செனவரையன் எழுத்து இப்படிக்கு கண்ட தெவமு வெந்த வெளான் எழுத்து எணிசெ (சை)

39. மிகாமபல்லவதரையன் [எழு*]த்து இப்படிக்கு..ங்க..யன் எழுத்து அ..சார்த்த. மன் எழுத்து காங்கையதரையன் எழுத்து சொழ[க*]ங்கன் [எழு*]த்து இட்படிக்கு

40. அரசகு..கபல்லவதரையன் எழுத்து இட்படிக்கு வெளுவுடையான் எழுத்து [॥*]

No. 30.

(A. R. No. 57 of 1946-47)

Same Wall, proper right of entrance.

Kulaśēkhara [I, Māṟavarman—,] 36th year of reign.

இச்சாஸனம் எம்மண்டலமுங் கொண்டருளிய குலசேகர தேவருடைய 36-ஆம் ஆண்டில் (கி,பி. 1304), காங்கேயன் என்பவர் செய்த தர்மத்தைக் கூறுகிறது. இவருடைய பேத்தியாரான கண்டன் நாச்சியா ரென்பவள், வீரசேகரமுடையார் கோவிலில் ஸ்தாபித்த, திருவீதி நாச்சியாராழ்வாருக்கு அமுதபடி, சாத்துப்படி முதலிய விஞ்சனங்களின் செலவிற்காக காங்கேயர் கொஞ்சம் நிலத்தை குடிநீங்கா தேவதானமாகக் கொடுத்தார்.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [॥*] ஸ்ரீ8 ந கீத்திக்குமெல் ஸ்ரீ கோம—
2. ாறபன்மரான திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவத்திக[ள்*] எம்—
3. மண்டலமுங்கோண்டருளிய ஸ்ரீ குலசே—
4. கர [தேவற்கு] யாண்டு [௩௰] சு.........
5. [அ]பரபக்ஷத்து திருதியையும் திங்கட்கிழமையும் பெற்ற திருவொணத்து ந‌ாள் கெரளசிங்கவளநாட்டுப் பெரும் பூ நாட்டு சாயக்களூர் உடையார் விரசெகர ஈஸ்வரமுடைய நார் ஸ்ரீ கொயிலில் ஸ்ரீ உருத்திர மாஹெஸ்வர சிகாரியஞ் செய் [வார்]களொம் இன்னுடுகளுக்கு அரசான தெவர்க[ன்] யாண்டார் அழகுகண்ட பெருமாளா[ன]
6. [க]ாங்கெயர் மகனார் உடையார் மகனர் குலசெகரதேவ ரான காங்கெயர் [குடி]. நீங்காக்காணியாகப் பிடிபாடு பண்ணிக்குடுத்த பரிசாவது [।*] கல [வ]ாமு[ர்] நாட்டுக் கிழ்வகை புல்லமங்கலத்து வயலில் இக்காங்கெயர் பெத்தி யார் கண்டன் நாச்சியார் சுந்தரபாண்டிய புரத்து வியாபாரி கள் பக்கல்லும் புல்ல—
7. [ம]ங்கலத்து ஊரா[ர்*] பக்கல்லும் [க்]ளக்குடியான குலசெகரநல்லூர் ஊரார் பக்கல்லும் விலை கொண்டுடைய காணியான நிலங்களில் இக்கொயில் இக்கண்டன் நாச்சியார் எழுந்தருளிவித்த திருவீதி[ந]ாச்சியார் ஆழ்வார்கு அமுதுபடி சாத்துப்படி திருநாள்ப்படி உள்ளிட்டவை மற்று

8. .....சூரியதேவர் திருமுகப்படி......இவற்கு....திருமுகப்படி....ப்புரவில் கழித்து கல்லுநாட்டிக் குடுத்து முப்பத்தெழாவது நாட்டார் அளந்தகொல்படி குடை....த்து சாத்தநாயான் வயக்கல் குடை வதசு: திசையடக்கி வயக்கல் குடைவதழ

(Continuation lost).

No. 31.

(A. R. No. 58 of 1946-47).

Inner west Wall, Naṭarāja shrine, *mahāmaṇḍapa* same temple.

Fragment.

இக்கல்வெட்டின் சில பாகங்கள் உடைந்து காணாமற்போனபடியால் இதன் கருத்துக்கள் இன்னவை யென்று விளங்கவில்லை. பெரிய கோட்டைப் பெரியநாயனை யாதவராய னென்பவர் கோவிலில் ஓர் விசேட பூஜை ஆராதனைக்காகக் கொஞ்சம் நிலத்தை, இறைகளைக் கழித்து, கொடுத்ததாகக் கூறுவது சாஸனத்தின் நோக்கமென்று தெரிகிறது.

மூலம்

1. [யா]ற்று நாட்டுப் பெரியகோட்டை பெரிய நாயனார் உடையன்—
2. .டரான யாதவராயனென் இந்நாயனார்க்கு அரசகுமாரக—
3. ன்சந்தி அமுது செய்தருள இறையிலிகாராண்மையாக—
4. கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்கொள்ளக் குடுத்தசாயாக்கு—
5. குப் பெருநான் கொல்லையாவது கிழ்பாற்கெல்லை வலைய—
6. றன் புன்செய் மெல்வெலிக்கும் செருவில் விளை யாடிப்—
7. ரையன் ஊரணிமே[ல்]....க்கு மெற்கும் தென்பார கெல்லை

(Rest lost)

No. 32.

(A. R. No. 59 of 1946-47).

On a pillar inside the *mahāmaṇḍapa,* same temple.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] இச்சித்தி—
2. ரகண்டக்கால் மா—
3. த்துரான வீரபாண்
4. டியபுரத்துக்குள—
5. த்தருடையான் ப

6. ட்டன் பட்டனை
7. பரமானந்த தெவ
8. ன் தன்மம் [।*] ஸ்வஸ்தி [||*]

No. 32-A.

Another pillar in the same place.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] வெங்காவயலார்
2. தன்ம [ம் *] இக்கால் [||]

No. 32-B.

On a third pillar, same place.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||] வெங்காவயலர்
2. தனம் [ம்*] இக்கால் [||*]

No. 33.

(A. R. No. 60 of 1946-47).

North Wall, *ardhamaṇḍapa*, same temple

Mallikārjuna: *Śaka* 1376, *Bhāva* (=A.D. 1454).

இந்தக் கல்வெட்டு விஜயநகர ஸாம்ராச்சியத்தின் அதிபதியாகிய தேவராயருடைய குமாரர் மல்லிகார்சுனராயர் அரசாட்சிச் செய்த காலத்தில் சக வருஷம் 1376-வது ஆண்டில் (கி. பி. 1454) பராக்கிரம பாண்டியனான விசையாலயதேவன் செய்த தானத்தைக் கூறுகிறது. இச் சாஸனத்தின் முடிவில் எழுதியுள்ள சில வரிகள் அழிந்து போனபடியால் தானத்தின் விவரம் தெரியவருவதில்லை.

மூலம்

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ மஹாமண்டலேச்வர அ[ரி]யராய கண்டன் பாஷைக்கு [த்தப்பு] வராய கண்டன் கண்டனாடு கொண்டு கொண்ட நாடு குடா தான் பூறுவ தெக்ஷிண பச்சிம உத்தர ஸமுத்ராதிபதி ஸ்ரீதெவராயர் குமாரர் மல்லிகா[ர்]சு
2. ன இராயற்கு ப்ருதிவிராச்சியம் பண்ணி அருளா நின்ற சகாத்தம் ஆயிரத்து மு[ன்னூ]ற்று எழுபத்து ஆறின் மெல் செல்லா நின்ற பாவ ஸம்வ பங்குனி [மாதம்] மினநாயற்று பூறுவ பக்ஷ[த்து] பஞ்சமியும் திங்கள் கிழமை பெ-
3. ற்ற அத்தத்துநாள் அதளையூர் நாட்டுத் தென்னூற்றுப்பொக்கு... செ..ன்பதப்பொனனயினூர் ஆன பராக்கிரம பாண்டிய விசையாலயதெவ[இ.ந]கொரள சிங்கவளநாட்டுப் பெரும்பூர் நாட்டு.
4. சாய்க்களூரில் . த்தஞ்செவிப்பார்கு இறையிலி........நம் முடைய அளவிலும் நம்முடைய விள..பிள்ளை தலைமுறை ஊ...ளவும் தம்பியார் திருமெனிவ

(Rest damaged).

No. 34.

(A. R. No. 61 of 1946-47).

North Wall, Central shrine, same temple.

சூரைக்குடி அரசரான விசையாலயதேவன் வீரசேகரீசுரமுடையாருக்குப் பூதானம் செய்த விஷயம் இக்கல்வெட்டில் பதிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது.

மூலம்

1. சுவமத்து [||*] சுவத்தி ஸ்ரீன-
2. மகாமண்டலிசுரன் சொ-
3. ரிவன்னிய சூரியன் தக்கா-
4. கருத்தக்காரன் இராகுத்த
5. மிண்டன் சூரைக்குடி
6. அரசு பள்ளிகொண்ட
7. விசையாலைய தெவர்
8. குமாரன் வயிரவநயி
9. னார் விசையாலைய
10. தெவெ[ன*]ன் சாயக்களு
11. ர் நயினார் விரசெகர
12. முடைய தம்பிரானா-
13. ...இசலூர் வயலில்
14. விட்ட நிலமாவது திருநா
15. மத்துக் காணியாக வி[ட்ட*]
16. அம்மையா செய்யான் திரி
17. வயக்கல் ருலசுயும்
18. நல்லாம் பிழைப்பெற்று
19. ன் ருலசுயும் வெலஞ்
20. செய் ருதடிரு ருலபசுவும்
21. கன்விளங்கி ருசபவும்
22. ஆக ருமிகுசயும் இன்னி
23. லம பத்துமா அரையும்
24. விரசெகரமுடையதம்
26. பிரான் [.கு] இன்னிலத்து.
26. க்கு உண்டான இறையும்
27. களித்து திருநாமத்துக்-
28. காணியாகச் சந்திராதித்த-
29. வற்செல்ல கல் வெட்டி
30. குடுத்தொம் விரசெகரமு
31. டைய தம்பிரானாற்க்கு விச
32. விசையாலையதெவன் எழுத்து[||*]

PREFACE

The Jayamaṅgalā is a commentary on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya. There are already commentaries called Jayamaṅgalā on the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka, the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, the Sāṅkhyakārikā and the Bhaṭṭikāvya; and now one more Jayamaṅgalā is added to this list. It is now edited with the help of a single manuscript copied by me twenty years ago, from a paper Ms. of the late Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri. It runs up to the end of the first adhikaraṇa called Vinayādhikārika, with gaps, here and there, left out by the scribe, and resmbles in all respects the copy of the work in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, No. R. 5208. It was not made use of by Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri for his edition of the Arthaśāstra with his own commentary published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (Nos., 79, 80, 82) as the Ms. reached his hands too late. The Jayamaṅgalā throws fresh light on the textual and other problems connected with the Arthaśāstra; and the publication of the available portion, it is hoped, will be a useful addition to the literature of Kauṭalya.

For facility of reference, the page numbers of the second Mysore edition (M) and the Trivandrum edition (T) of the Arthaśāstra are noted before the first word commented upon, on that particular page.

G. HARIHARA SASTRI

...NEMARA PUBLIC... 26 JAN 1958

श्रीः

कौटलीयार्थशास्त्रव्याख्या

जयमङ्गला

विनयाधिकारिकम्-प्रथमम् अधिकरणम् ।

पूर्वमतानि यथेदं संगृह्यैकं चकार कौटल्यः ।
टीकान्तराणि दृष्ट्वा सद्व्याख्यानं समुद्धृत्य ॥
क्रियते तथा मयापि त्यक्त्वा च ग्रन्थविस्तरं पूर्णा ।
बालहिता टीकेयं दुर्ज्ञेयं यद् वितत्य सर्वमिदम् ॥

T.1; M.1. प्रेक्षावतां पूज्यपूजनात् सर्वारम्भा अविघ्नितप्रसरा भवन्तीति मन्यमान आह—नमः शुक्रबृहस्पतिभ्याम् इति । पूज्याश्च वक्तृत्वप्रयोक्तृत्वैश्वर्ययोगात् त्रिविधाः । तत्र ये शास्त्राणां वक्तारः, ते तच्छास्त्रव्यवहारिभिः पूज्यन्ते । ये शास्त्रार्थानां प्रयोक्तारः, ते तन्त्रानुवर्तिभिः पूज्यन्ते । ये च अणिमाद्यैश्वर्ययुक्ताः, ते दृष्टादृष्टार्थानुग्राहिणो देवा अत्यन्तं पूज्यन्ते । अनयोश्च त्रितयमपि पूजनीयत्वनिमित्तमस्ति । तत्र कृत्स्नशास्त्रप्रणयनाद् वक्तारौ, देवासुराणां च सन्धिविग्रहप्रयोगात् प्रयोक्तारौ, ऐश्वर्ययोगाच्च देवौ इति मन्यमान इह कौटल्यस्ताविव नमस्कृतवान् । नमःशब्दयोगाच्चतुर्थी । नमःशब्दश्च मानसीं भक्तिम् अनुमापयति । पाण्यादीनां साधनानां बाह्यां पूजां प्रदर्शयति । अत्र "आनङृतो द्वन्द्वे" (६-३-२५) "देवताद्वन्द्वे च" (६-३-२६) इति नानङ् । पुनर्द्वन्द्वग्रहणात् पूर्वनिर्दिष्टानामेवेति स्थितेः । यथा सूर्याचन्द्रमसोरिति चन्द्रसूर्ययोरिति च व्यवहारौ । ततश्च शुक्रस्याल्पाच्तरत्वात् पूर्वनिपातः । शास्त्रारम्भे प्रयोजनमाह—पृथिव्या इति । अन्यथा अनुक्तप्रयोजने प्रेक्षावताम् अप्रवृत्तेः । पृथिव्या इति तत्स्वभावाया विस्तीर्णरूपाया इत्यर्थः । अनेन शास्त्रस्य महाविषयताम् आह—लाभे पालने चेति । लाभनिमित्तं पालननिमित्तं च "निमित्तात् कर्मसंयोगे" (वा. २.३.३६) इति सप्तमी । (लाभो)"नवो भूतपूर्वः पित्र्यश्चेति" (अधि. १३. अध्या. ५) । पालनमपि स्वेभ्यः परेभ्यश्चेति द्विविधम् । विषयसप्तमी वा, शास्त्रस्य अनन्यत्रभावात् । ननु चोभयोरपि पक्षयोर्वर्धनस्य तीर्थप्रतिपादनस्य चासंग्रहात् कथं प्रतिपत्तिः । यथा

वक्ष्यति—"रक्षितवर्धनी वृद्धस्य तीर्थप्रतिपादनी च" (अधि.१.अध्या.४) इति । सत्यम् । किन्त्वस्यैव विशेषनिर्देशोऽयम् । रक्षितवर्धनमप्यार्जनमेव, तीर्थप्रतिपादनमपि गुणवति पुत्रादौ निक्षेपः, अश्वमेधादौ वा विनियोगः । तदपि हि रक्षणमेव । तस्मादुभयमपि पालनान्तर्भूतमेव द्रष्टव्यम् । यावन्तीति यावत्प्रमाणानि साकल्यार्थं वचनम् । अर्थशास्त्राणीति अर्थो येन लोको वर्तते तदर्थं शास्त्रमिति । यद्येवं वार्ताशास्त्रं तत्, न नीतिशास्त्रम्। यस्माद् भूमिहिरण्यधान्यपशुभाण्डोपस्करादिरर्थः अमुत इति कृत्वा, ते न नीतिशास्त्राणीति वक्तव्यम् । सत्यम् । प्राधान्यादेवमुक्तम् । यतो भूम्यादीनामर्थानां पूर्वः पूर्वः प्रधानम् । अर्थः प्रधानं च मनुष्यवती भूमिः, सर्वकर्मणां योनित्वात् । वक्ष्यति च तन्त्रयुक्तौ—"मनुष्याणां वृत्तिरर्थः, मनुष्यवती भूमिरित्यर्थः । तस्या मनुष्यवत्या भूमेः पृथिव्याः लाभपालनोपायभूतं शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति" (अधि.१५.अध्या.१) । वृत्तिरर्थ इति वर्तनहेतुत्वात् । पूर्वाचार्यैरिति । पूर्वग्रहणं प्रकर्षार्थत्वाद् बृहस्पत्याद्युपसंग्रहार्थम् । आचार्यैरिति, न यैः कैश्चित् । T. 1. प्रस्थापितानि प्रवर्तितानि । प्रायश इति प्रतिषेधार्थम् (?) । अनेन सामान्येनार्थशास्त्रस्य प्रयोजनमुक्तम् । तेषु सत्सु पुनरारम्भोऽनर्थक इति चेदाह—तानीति । संहृत्य ततः स्तोकं स्तोकं परित्यज्य । इयांस्तु विशेषः । अत्र यत् केषांचिन्मतमनुमतं यथा "सर्वमुपपन्नमिति कौटल्यः" । केषाञ्चिन्नानुमतं यथा "नेति कौटल्यः" इति । एकमिति अनपेक्षित-सहायान्तरम् । इदमिति बुद्धिस्थमाह । पुनरर्थशास्त्रग्रहणं प्रसक्ततो धर्माद्युप-देशेऽपि अर्थोपदेशः प्रधानमिति प्रकाशनार्थम् "अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामौ" (अधि.१.अध्या.७) इति । कृतमिति शास्त्रपरिसमाप्तिमाशंसते । "वृष्टश्च देवो निष्पन्नाः शालयः" इति यथा । प्रपञ्चित(विचित्र ? त्रि)वर्गाणि पूर्वाचार्य-प्रणीतशास्त्राणि संक्षिप्य अल्पेन ग्रन्थेन यदर्थकथनं तदस्य प्रयोजनम् । ऐदंयुगीनानां पूर्वशास्त्राध्ययनासामर्थ्यात् । तथा चोक्तम्—

"ब्रह्माध्यायसहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम् ।
तच्छंकरेण शक्रेण गुरुणा भार्गवेण च ॥
संक्षिप्तं मनसा चैव बहुभिश्च तपोधनैः ।
प्रजानामायुषो ह्रासं विज्ञाय च महात्मना ॥
संक्षिप्तं विष्णुगुप्तेन नृपाणामर्थसिद्धये ।"

इति । संबन्धस्तु प्रयोजनस्य शास्त्रस्य प्रतिपाद्यप्रतिपादकलक्षणः, स च तदन्तर्गतत्वात् पृथङ् नोक्तः । सामान्यं तु प्रयोजनमस्य अस्त्येव । अत्र

केचिदाहुः—धर्मस्य अलौकिकत्वादभिधायकं शास्त्रम्, अर्थस्योपायपूर्वकत्वाद् उपायस्य च शास्त्रपूर्वकत्वात् तद् युक्तं तदर्थवार्ताशास्त्रम्। नीतिशास्त्रं तु न युक्तम्, यतो नीतिशास्त्रमनर्थकमिति। प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमप्रमाणदेशकालशक्तिपुरस्सरार्थविनियोगलक्षणा क्रिया नीतिः। सा प्रेक्षावतां दृश्यते। नीतिं विना पशूनां तत्कल्पानाञ्च बालानाम् आत्महिततृणस्तन्याहारप्राप्तिरभिहिता। शीतोष्णवातवर्षादिपरिहारश्च फलम्। तथानधीतशास्त्राणामपि म्लेच्छादीनां जलारण्यान्तरिक्षवर्तिमीनमृगपक्षिबन्धनार्थसाधनविनियोगलक्षणा नीतिः। तथा अशास्त्रविदां तुल्येऽपि शास्त्रे केषाञ्चिद् अर्थेन योगोऽन्येषामनर्थेनेति। अत्रोच्यते—

"नीतेर्विना फलं नास्ति शास्त्रेणैकान्तिको नयः।
शास्त्रे सत्यपि नावश्यमिति सर्वेष्विदः समम्॥"

इति। पशवो हि मनुष्यप्रयुक्तैः पाशकूटादिभिरुपहन्यमानाः पाशादिविमोचनाकुशलाः विनाशम्, बालाश्च परिहारानभिज्ञाः सर्पाद्युपद्रवादिकम् आसादयन्तो नीतेर्विना दृश्यन्ते। अतो नीतेर्विना फलं नास्ति। अनधीतशास्त्राणामपि यत् कदाचित् हिताहितप्राप्तिवर्जनं तदपि यादृच्छिकीं नीतिमेवासाद्य भवति। सा चैवंविधा नीतिर्घुणाक्षरकल्पत्वादनाश्वासा। अपनयबाहुल्याच्चैते शास्त्रविद्भिरुदासीक्रियन्ते। शास्त्रेण तु सम्यक्करणीयवर्जनीयवर्जनादैकान्तिकत्वं नीतेः क्रियते। (उप)देशादिष्वप्य(पि स्व ?)भावपरिच्छेदोऽप्येषां यदा भवति तदा प्रामाण्यमन्येभ्य एव। तथा हि—

"उपदेशाद् अनायोगाद् वासनानुगमादपि।
परयत्नाद् अदृष्टाद् वा सर्वाः सर्वत्र वृत्तयः॥"

इति। येषां हिताहितप्राप्तिपरिहारौ कचिन्मात्रादिचरितोपदेशापेक्षया-नहीदं कुर्विदं मा कार्षीरिति वाचैव श्रोतॄणां शब्दार्थप्रतिपत्तॄणामुपदेशः, किन्तर्हि अनुकर्तॄणां नाट्योपदेशवदुपदेशः। कदाचिदनायोगात्—यस्यां प्रवृत्तौ बाध्यन्ते न च फलं प्राप्नुवन्ति ततो निवृत्त्यान्यत्र निराबाधं फलं च किञ्चिल्लभमानाः पौनःपुन्येन इदमतो दुःखम् अन्यथा अदुःखं भवतीति तमोबाहुल्येऽपि यच्च यावच्च प्राकाश्यं लभते। कदाचिद् वासनानुगमाच्च—अनन्तरेषु व्यवहितेषु च जन्मसु दर्शनश्रवणादिभिः सर्वपदार्थस्वभावपरिच्छेदानुभूतलोकयात्राणां यदृच्छोत्पन्नवासनाप्रबोधानां हिताहितवस्तुन्यभिलाषेतरौ भवतः। ततश्चाभिप्रेतलाभः परिहारश्च। कदाचित् परप्रयत्नात्—उपकरणसम्पदायत्तमात्मोपकारं मन्यमानो गोवत्सादिवदनं मातुरूधःप्रवेशं योजयन् स्वार्थं साधयति। स्वन्येषां च

परनीत्यपेक्षया प्रवृत्तिः साफल्यं लभते । कदाचिददृष्टात्—पूर्वदेहोत्पन्नौ धर्माधर्मौ प्रत्युत्पन्नपरिपाकौ देहकारणानां सन्निवेशविशेषरचनायाः कारणीभवतः । एवमिष्टानिष्टफलप्राप्तिपरिहारनिमित्ताय प्रवृत्तिविशेषः अनन्ताय पुरुषतर्कागोचराय तावेव प्रभवत इति न किञ्चिद् अनिमित्तं फलमस्ति । येषामपि शास्त्रविदां केषाञ्चिद् अपनयाद् अनर्थेन योगः स तेषामेवापराधो न शास्त्रस्य । नोलूकः पश्यतीत्यादित्येन नोदेतव्यम् । प्रतिपत्त्रपराधाच्च शास्त्रानर्थक्यं सर्वशास्त्रेषु तुल्यं स्वर्गारोग्यापवर्गार्थेषु शास्त्रेषु । न सर्वे तद्विदो धर्माधर्मसेवापरिहारयोः पथ्यापथ्याहारसेवासेवयोः रागादिहानौ तत्त्वज्ञाने चाभिनिविशमाना दृश्यन्ते । ये तदर्थिनो भक्तिश्रद्धान्वितास्तेऽपि शास्त्राणां प्रयोजनहेतव इत्यन्यशास्त्रवद् इदमप्यादरणीयमिति ॥

शास्त्रप्रणयनं च द्विधा समुद्देशतो निर्देशतश्च । तत्र स्वरूपसङ्ख्याभ्यां पूर्वमधिकृत्याह—तस्येति संक्षिप्तस्य शास्त्रस्य । अयमिति प्रकरणानामधिकरणानां च समुद्देशः समासवचनम् । वक्ष्यति—"समासवाक्यं समुद्देशः", "व्यासवाक्यं निर्देशः" (अधि.१५.अध्या.१) इति । अस्य च प्रयोजनम् अध्येतॄणां विदितशास्त्रार्थप्रकरणानुपूर्वीकाणाम् असंमोहेन अध्ययने प्रवृत्तिः यथाभिलषितप्रकरणसार्थप्रत्यवमर्शश्च प्रज्ञासमाना भविष्यतीति । एवं च कृत्वोक्तं व्यासेन—

"इष्टं हि विदुषां लोके समासव्यासभाषणम् ।"

(कामसू.अधि.१.अध्या.१)

इति । विद्यासमुद्देशादयश्च यथाप्रस्तुतार्थनिमित्तनामानः । निर्वचनं च यथानिर्देशं वक्ष्यामः । प्रक्रियन्त इति प्रकरणानि अर्थाः । ग्रन्थभागास्तु तत्साहचर्यात् तन्नामानः प्रकरणार्थाधारत्वात् । अधिकरणानि अधिक्रियन्त एष्विति तानि च यथायथमुपात्तनिमित्तभेदसमाख्यानि । M.4. तथा विनयाधिकारोऽस्मिन्निति विनयाधिकारिकम् । तथा व्यसनाधिकारिकम् । T.9. M.2; अध्यक्षाः प्रचरन्त्यनेनेति अध्यक्षप्रचारः T.11; धर्मस्थेभ्यो हितं तद्व्यापारोपदेशादिति धर्मस्थीयम् । T.12; M.3. कण्टकाः शोध्यन्तेऽनेनेति कण्टकशोधनम् । T.13. योगः प्रच्छन्नयोगः तस्य प्रवर्तनं योगवृत्तम् । T.14. मण्डलयोनिर्मण्डलज्ञानकारणम् । T.17; M.4. षडेव गुणाः षाड्गुण्यम् । चातुर्वर्ण्यवत् । T.19. अभियास्यतः कर्म अभियास्यत्कर्म । T.21. M.5. सङ्ग्रामा अत्र भवन्तीति साङ्ग्रामिकम् । T.23. अवलीय-

सामिदम् आवलीयसम् । दुर्गलाभस्योपायो दुर्गलाभोपायः । लम्भ इत्यपप्रयोगः "उपसर्गात् खल्घञोः" (७-१-६७) इति नियमात् । T.24. उपनिषद् रहस्यं तदधिकृत्य कृतम् औपनिषदिकम् । तन्त्रयुक्तयः शास्त्रव्याख्यायुक्तयो बह्वयः, तासां प्रकरणभूतानामाधारत्वात् तन्त्रयुक्तिरधिकरणम् । T.25. इति शास्त्रसमुद्देशः इतिशब्दः परिसमाप्त्यर्थः । शास्त्रस्य प्रकरणाधिकरण-स्वरूपस्य संक्षेपेणोद्देश उक्तः । प्रकरणानामधिकरणानां चानुपूर्व्या यथानिर्देशं वक्ष्यामः । इदानीं स्पष्टार्थं सङ्ख्यया शास्त्रसमुद्देशमाह—पञ्चदशेति । तत्र प्रकरणाधिकरणसङ्ख्यानमन्यनिरपेक्षार्थम् । अध्यायसङ्ख्यानं न प्रकरणवशादेषां सङ्ख्येति दर्शनार्थम् । यतो विगृह्यासनादीनि बहूनि प्रकरणान्येकोऽध्यायः विद्यासमुद्देशः प्रकरणमेकं त्रयोऽध्याया •इति । श्लोकसङ्ख्यानमहीनाधिकत्व-ज्ञापनार्थम् । M.6. सुखग्रहणमित्यादिवचनमध्येतृप्रोत्साहनार्थम् । सन्निवेशत्वात् सुखेन ग्रहणं पठनं यस्मिन्निति सुखग्रहणम् । स्पष्टार्थत्वात् सुखेन विज्ञेयमव-गतिर्यस्मिन्निति सुखविज्ञेयम् । यतस्तत्त्वार्थैः निश्चयो यस्मिन्निति । विमु ं चास्मिन् ग्रन्थगौरवम् । अतःकालातिपातोऽपि नास्ति । कुटलं नाम गोत्रं तस्यापत्यं कौटल्यः । "गर्गादिभ्यो यञ्" (४-१-१०५) स्वगोत्रकीर्तनं च कीर्त्यर्थम् । तथा चाहुः—

"दिवं स्पृशति भूमिं च शब्दः पुण्यस्य कर्मणः ।
यावत् स्वशब्दो ध्रियते तावत् स्वर्गे महीयते ॥"

इति । शास्त्रं चेदं स्वपरमण्डलभेदाद् द्विधावस्थितं तन्त्रमावापश्च (इति) । स्वकुटुम्बधारणात् तन्त्रम् । "तन्त्रि कुटुम्बधारणे" इति धातुपाठात् । तच्च अध्यक्षप्रचारादि योगवृत्तान्तम् । परस्माच्छक्तयः सिद्धयश्चात्मनि समन्तादुप्यन्ते व्यस्यन्ते येनासावावापः । स च मण्डलयोन्यादिदुर्गलाभोपायान्तः । तदुभयमपि अविनीतस्य न प्रवर्तत इति आदौ विनयोपदेशः । तन्त्रावापाभ्यामसिद्धेऽर्थे उपनिषत्प्रयोग इत्यन्ते वचनम् । तदुभयमपि तन्त्रावापान्तर्भूतमेव द्रष्टव्यम् । शास्त्रमपि व्याख्यायुक्तिं विना न शक्यते व्याख्यातुमिति तन्त्रयुक्तिः शास्त्रस्य अलङ्कारभूता अन्ते समुपदिष्टा । तथा चोक्तम्—

"सूत्रवाक्यसमीक्षाभिः श्लोकैः शास्त्रस्य तद्विधिः ।
अलङ्काराश्च तस्योक्ता द्वात्रिंशत् तन्त्रयुक्तयः ॥
अर्थस्य सूचनात् सूत्रं वाक्यं च पदसंहतिः ।
अन्तर्भाव्या समीक्षा स्याच्चतुष्पाच्छ्लोक उच्यते ॥"

इति । शास्त्रं चेदं समीक्षाभिः विरचितत्वात् समीक्षाशास्त्रम् इत्याहुः । शास्त्र-समुद्देशश्च प्रथमं प्रकरणं विनय एवान्तर्भूतम् । यतो वक्ष्यति—"शास्त्रार्थानुष्ठानं

वेन्द्रियजयः" (अधि.१.अध्या.६) इति । ततश्च संक्षेपेणापि कृत्स्नं शास्त्रमनुष्ठेयम् इन्द्रियजय इति समुद्देशो विनये निक्षिप्तः ॥

इति शास्त्रसमुद्देशः प्रथमं प्रकरणम् ।
प्रथमश्चाध्यायः ॥

अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः

T.26; इदानीं निर्देशतः शास्त्रं प्रस्तूयते । तत्रेदं शास्त्रं किमधिकृत्येत्यत्राह—राजवृत्तिरिति । अधिक्रियते । सर्वमेतच्छास्त्रं राजवृत्तिः राजानेन वर्तेत इति कृत्वा । यतः पुरुषकारो ज्ञानकर्मलक्षणः, ज्ञानपूर्वकं कर्म, ज्ञानं शास्त्रपूर्वकमिति । अमात्यादयोऽप्यनेन वर्तन्त इति चेन्न । तेषां राज्ञैव उह्यमानत्वात् । अथवा तन्त्रमधिकृत्य अयम् अधिकारः । कृत्स्नस्य शास्त्रस्य राजवृत्तित्वेऽपि विशेषग्रहणं स्वकुटुम्बविषयख्यापनार्थम् । यतोऽनपेक्षितपरमण्डला स्वतन्त्रवृत्तिः । अथवा एतद् विजिगीषोर्वृत्तिः, यतो वक्ष्यति मण्डलयोनौ—"राजा आत्मद्रव्यप्रकृतिसम्पन्नो नयस्याधिष्ठानं विजिगीषुः" (अधि.६.अध्या.२) इति । अथवा इदमेवाधिकरणं प्रत्यधिक्रियते, साक्षाद् राज्ञो व्यापाराभिधानाद् विनयाधिकारिकस्य । अथवा विद्यासमुद्देशमेव प्रकरणं प्रत्यधिक्रियते प्रसिद्धिनिरासार्थम् । यतः सन्न्यासिनाम् आन्वीक्षिकी, धर्मप्रधानानां गृहस्थादीनां त्रयी, विशां शूद्राणां च वार्ता, राज्ञां दण्डनीतिरिति । अत आह—राजवृत्तिरान्वीक्षिकीत्यादि । तेन विनयाधिकारे प्रथमम् अयं विनयो यद् विद्योपासनमिति । शास्त्रसमुद्देशानन्तरं विद्यासमुद्देश उच्यत इति प्रकरणक्रमः । ये तु उद्देशापेक्षया सम्बन्धम् आहुः—यथोद्देशस्तथा निर्देश इति, ते स एवोद्देशः कथमिति प्रष्टव्याः । एताः सर्वा राजवृत्तिः । ताश्चेतरेतरापेक्षाः, न पुनस्तदन्यापेक्षाः । अत एव ज्ञानविद्याधिकाराद् अन्या विद्याः सत्योऽप्यस्मिन् प्रकरणे नोक्ताः । तेन चतस्र एव त्रिभिरध्यायैः समुद्दिश्यन्ते । तत्र सर्वविद्याप्रचारहेतुत्वात् पूर्वमान्वीक्षिकी । वर्णाश्रमाणां धर्मकर्मव्यवस्थापनाद् इतराभ्यां प्राक् त्रयी । प्रजाजीवनहेतुत्वाद् दण्डनीतेः प्राग् वार्ता । दण्डनीतिस्तु राजवृत्तित्वे प्रसिद्धैव सती सादृश्यार्थम् इतराभिः सहानूद्यते । इतिशब्दो व्यवच्छेदार्थः । अत्राचार्याणां विप्रतिपत्तिः । मनोः स्मृतिकारस्य मतम् । शुष्कतर्कस्य तावद् विद्याविरोधाद् अविद्यैव । तद्यथा—

" यदुदुम्बरपर्णानां घटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।
पीतं न गमयेत् स्वर्गं किं तत् क्रतुशतं नयेत् ॥"

इति । तस्मात्,

" हैतुकान् बकवृत्तींश्च वाङ्मात्रेणापि नार्चयेत् ।"

इति । यस्तु त्रय्यनुगामी मीमांसादिः, स्मृत्यन्तरानुगामी साङ्ख्यादिस्तर्कः स त्रय्येव । यथाहुः—

" वेदशास्त्राविरोधी तु तर्क(स्त्रय्येव) पश्यताम् ।"

इति । तस्मात् त्रयीविशेषः त्रयीभेदः । मानवा इति मनोः शिष्याः । ननु च मानवानामिदं मतं न मनोः । नैतदेवम् । तत्प्रोक्तशास्त्राध्ययनादेव ते मानवाः । न तेषां पृथग् दर्शनमस्ति ॥

बार्हस्पत्या इति बृहस्पतेः शिष्याः । त एवमाहुः— वार्ता दण्डनीतिफलैव, त्रयी धर्मोपयोगिनी, अतः पृथिव्या लाभपालनयोर्वार्तादण्डनीती एवोपकारिण्यौ । तस्माद् राज्ञो द्वे एव विद्ये । किन्तु वार्तादण्डनीत्योः प्रवर्तमानस्यार्थमात्रपरोऽयं निग्रहरुचिरिति परिवादस्य यत्संवरणं प्रच्छादनं धर्मविजयित्वख्यापनार्थम्, तन्मात्रेणोपयुज्यते । **लोकयात्राविद्** इति लोकव्यवहारविदः । अन्यथा तदुक्तं धर्ममनाचरन् लोको व्यवहाराद् बाह्यः स्यात् । तथा चोक्तम्—

" योगाय वार्ता लोकस्य नीतिः क्षेमाय चोदिता ।
त्रयी तत्रापि मघवन् लोकपक्तिप्रयोजना ॥"

इति ।

T.27. **औशनसा** इति । उशनसः शुक्रस्य शिष्याः । ते हि वार्ताव्यवहारं दण्डनीत्यामेवान्तर्भावयन्ति । ततश्च दण्डनीतिरेव प्रधानम् । यदाह—**तस्या**मिति दण्डनीत्याम् । यस्मात् **सर्वविद्यारम्भाः** सर्वविहितव्यापारा योगक्षेमरूपाः **प्रतिबद्धाः** । तस्या अभावे आरम्भाणामप्रवृत्तेः । यथोक्तम्—

" इयं धर्मार्थकामानां पृथिवीलाभपालना(त्) ।
मे ? वेदिनी नीतिविद्यैव पुरुषार्थस्य साधिका ॥"

इति ।

स्वमतमाह—**चतस्र** इति । यथोपवर्णितपूर्वाचार्यमतसम्भवेऽपि परस्परं विसदृशव्यापारत्वाद् विसदृशस्वरूपत्वाद् विसदृशफलत्वाच्चतस्र एव । तत्र विसदृशव्यापारं दर्शयन्नाह—**ताभि**रिति विचारज्ञानलाभसत्तापादनार्थाभिः ।

यद् यस्मात् कारणात् । धर्मार्थौ विचार्यऽवलम्ब्यस्थिरतया राजा विद्यात् जानीयात् । तद् विद्यानां विद्यात्वम् । यतः आन्वीक्षिकी विचारणार्था विन्तेऽन-येति, त्रयी धर्माधर्मज्ञानार्था विद्याद् अनयेति, वार्ता लाभार्था विन्दत्यनयेति, दण्डनीतिः सत्तापादनार्था विद्यतेऽनया रक्षणयोगात् , इति सर्वस्माद् विदेः "(संज्ञायां)समजनिषद् —" (३-३-९९) इति क्यप् । मोक्षो राज्ञां न विवक्षितः। कामोऽप्यर्थप्राप्त इति नोक्तः ॥

विद्यानां स्वरूपभेदात् स्थापनोच्यते । तत्रान्वीक्षिकीमधिकृत्याह— साङ्ख्यमिति । सङ्ख्यानं सङ्ख्या विवेकः, तस्या इदं शास्त्रं, साङ्ख्यं षष्टितन्त्रं पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञानफलम् । योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः षडङ्गैश्वर्य-फलः । यथोक्तम्—

"प्रत्याहारस्तथा ध्यानं प्राणायामोऽथ धारणा ।
तर्कश्चैव समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योग उच्यते ॥"

इति । लोकायतं बार्हस्पत्यम् । लोकाय बुद्धिं तनोतीति नैरुक्तम् । तदिह लैकिकसाध्यसाधनोपायफलनिश्चयेऽपि सन्दिग्धपारलौकिकाप्रत्याख्यानोपदेशाय । यथोक्तम्—

"सन्दिग्धेऽपि परे लोके त्याज्यमेवाशुभं बुधैः ।"

इति । असमासकरणं व्यस्तसमस्तख्यापनार्थम् । आन्वाक्षिकी*..............

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इति विद्यासमुद्देशे आन्वीक्षिकीस्थापना ।
द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः

T. 29. M. 7. स्वधर्मस्थापनादिति । स्वग्रहणमसाधारणधर्म-ख्यापनार्थम् । तस्य व्यवस्थापनाद् औपकारिकः उपकाराय प्रभवति ॥

अतो राज्ञा लोकधर्मा ज्ञातव्या इत्यादिदर्शनार्थमाह—स्वधर्म इत्यादि । अयमधिकार उत्तरत्र वर्तते । तत्र ब्राह्मणस्य यजनं दर्शपूर्णमासादि । अध्ययनं स्वाध्याय एव । दानं दक्षिणेति । एतानि कर्माणि धर्माय । याजनाध्यापनप्रति-ग्रहास्त्वर्थाय । एते प्रधानभूताः । अन्येऽपि धर्मशास्त्रादवगन्तव्याः । एवमुत्तरत्रापि

* अत्र उपदश ग्रन्थपङ्क्तयो मातृकायां लुप्ताः ।

योऽयम् । क्षत्रियस्येति । अध्ययनादयो धर्माः, अध्यापनादिषु नाधिकारी क्षत्रियः । शस्त्राजीवः शस्त्रेणाजीवः जीवनम् अर्थार्थम् । भूतरक्षणम् आपन्नभूतत्राणम् । धर्मार्थमर्थार्थं च । यद्यपि रक्षणं कुर्वन् शस्त्रेणाजीवनं लभते । तथापि विनाप्याजीवनम् आपन्नत्राणं कर्तव्यमिति रक्षणग्रहणेन दर्शयति । वैश्यस्येति । अध्ययनादयो धर्माः । कृषिपाशुपाल्ये वृत्त्यर्थे प्राधान्येन, योगविभागकरणात् । वणिज्या च वणिक्कर्म अन्वाचीयमाना । अल्पफलत्वात् । अतो वार्तेति नोक्तम् । शूद्रस्येति । द्विजादीनां ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शुश्रूषा परिचरणं धर्मार्थम् । वृत्तये च वार्ता । तथा कारुकर्म तक्षणादि । कुशीलवकर्म नृत्तगीतादि । एतद् यथोत्तरमुपचीयमानं वृत्त्यङ्गम् ॥

आश्रमानधिकृत्याह—गृहस्थस्येति । सर्वाश्रमाणां प्रभवत्वाद् उपकारित्वाच्च प्राग् गृहस्थग्रहणम् । गृहं भार्या यत्र तिष्ठतीति गृहस्थः, तस्य ब्राह्मणादेः स्वेन स्वेन कर्मणा पूर्वोक्तेन आजीवनं वृत्तिः । तुल्यैः अभिजनतस्तुल्यैः । तत्रापि असमानर्षिभिः असमानप्रवरैः अतुल्यगोत्रैरित्यर्थः । वैवाह्यं विवाहकर्म कन्यादानवरणम् । ऋतुगामित्वम् ऋतुकालेऽभिगमनशीलता, धर्मप्रजावृद्ध्यर्थम् । अन्यथा दोषः । यथोक्तम्—

"ऋतुमतीं तु यो भार्यां सन्निधौ नोपगच्छति ।
तस्याः पुरीषे षण्मासान् पितरस्तस्य शेरते ॥"

इति । अन्यत्र रत्यर्थम्, सर्वत्र वा प्रतिषिद्धवर्जमिति । देवेषु त्रयीचोदितेषु । पितृषु च यथास्वं विप्रादीनां सोमपा-हविर्भुग्-आज्यप-सुकालिषु । अतिथिषु तत्कालोपस्थितेषु । भृत्येषु दासकर्मकरादिषु । त्यागः कृताकृतद्रव्यविनियोजनम् । शेषभोजनं पश्चात्कालभोजनं देवपित्रतिथ्यर्थपाकावशेषभोजनं विघसाशित्वप्रति-षेधार्थम् ॥

T. 30. M. 8. ब्रह्मचारिण इति । ब्रह्म वेदः । तदध्ययनार्थं यद् व्रतं तदपि ब्रह्म, तच्चरति यः । "व्रते" (३. २. ८०.) इति णिनिः, तस्य । स्वाध्यायो यस्मिन्नेव वेदे व्रतं चरति स एवाध्येय इति स्वग्रहणम् । अग्निकार्यम् अभिषेकश्च स्नानं यथोक्तम् । 'व्रत भोजने' (?) इति ण्यन्तात् कर्मकर्तरि पचाद्यच् । एतद् वेदब्रह्मचारिण उपकुर्वाणस्य (आ) समावर्तनात् । आ मरणान्तात्तु नैष्ठिकस्यायं विशेषः । आचार्यकुले प्राणान्तिकी प्राणा एवान्तोऽवधिर्यस्या विद्यते सा । वृत्तिः शुश्रूषा । तदभावे गुरुपुत्रे द्वितीयः । सब्रह्मचारिणि वा समानचरणे तुल्यशाखाध्यायिनि वृत्तिरिति तृतीयः कल्पः । "चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि" (६. ३. ८६) इति सभावः ॥

वानप्रस्थस्येति प्रतिष्ठन्तेऽस्मिन्निति प्रस्थो देश उच्यते । वनप्रस्थे वनोद्देशे भवो वानप्रस्थः । वैखानस इत्यपरनामा । तस्य अपत्ये संक्रमितगार्हस्थ्यस्य पत्नीवत्त्वेऽपि **ब्रह्मचर्यम्** । **भूमौ** अनास्तरणायाम् । **शय्या** शयनम् । **जटानां** विन्यासीकृतकेशानाम् **अजिनस्य** चर्मणो धारणम् । **अग्निहोत्र**चरणं पत्नीयुक्तत्वात् । "वनं गच्छेत् सहैव वा" इति वचनात् । **अभिषेकः** । यथोक्तदेवतातिथिपूजा । **वन्यश्च** वनभवः कन्दमूलफलनीवारादिः । **आहारः** आह्रियते भक्ष्यत इति कृत्वा । न तु शास्त्रप्रतिषिद्धो मांसादिः ॥

परिव्राजकस्येति "वर्षासमयाद् अन्यत्र ग्रामे एकरात्रं नगरे पञ्चरात्रम्" इति वचनात् । परिव्रजतीति परिव्राजकः । भिक्षुरिति द्वितीयनामा । तस्य **यतेन्द्रियत्वम्** अलोलुपेन्द्रियता । **अनारम्भः** क्रियादीनाम् । **निष्किञ्चनत्वं** प्रव्रज्योपकरणव्यतिरिक्तानुपादानात् । बन्धुमित्रादिभिः यः **सङ्गः** तस्य त्यागः । **भैक्षं** [illegible] समूहः । नैका भिक्षा, तत्रापि नैकस्मिन् ग्रामे नगरे वा स्यात्, किन्तु **अनेकत्र** । तत्राप्यरण्ये ग्रामादिसमीपे **वासः** न ग्रामादाविति । बाह्यं शौचं मृदादिभिः अमेध्यापनोदनार्थम् । आभ्यन्तरं मनःशौचम्, रागद्वेषादिप्रहाणात् ॥

वर्णाश्रमाणां धर्मानुक्त्वा सामान्यानाह—**सर्वेषाम्** इति । **अहिंसा** सत्त्वस्यापीडनम् । **सत्यं** यथार्थवाक् । **शौचं** बाह्याभ्यन्तरम् । परगुणाक्षमता असूया तदभावोऽनसूया । **आनृशंस्यम्** अक्रूरता । अनुकम्पेत्यर्थः । **क्षमा** च आक्रोशादितितिक्षा ॥

T. 31. **स्वधर्म** इति । स्वग्रहणं सामान्यनिरासार्थम् । यथायोगं कश्चित् **स्वर्गाय** कश्चिद् **आनन्त्याय** मोक्षाय । न विद्यते अन्तो अस्येत्यनन्तः, मोक्षः । अनन्त एव आनन्त्यम् । स्वर्गस्य अन्तवत्त्वात् । **तस्य** धर्मस्य, **अतिक्रमे** लङ्घने न केवलं फलाभावः, अपि तु **लोकः संकराद्** उच्छिद्येत । नरकं यायाद् विनश्येद् वा । संकरो द्विविधः—कर्मसंकरो वर्णसंकरश्च । तत्र पूर्वः शूद्रस्य द्विजकर्म, द्विजस्य आपत्कल्पवर्जं शूद्रकर्मेत्यादि । द्वितीयो ह्यन्तरालाः प्रतिलोमानुलोमाः ॥

यत एवं तस्मात् **स्वधर्मं भूतानां** मनुष्याणां **राजा न व्यभिचारयेत्** हेतुकर्तृत्वेन । **हि** यस्मात् **स्वधर्मं सन्दधानः** प्रतिपादयन्नित्यर्थः । **प्रेत्य** जन्मान्तरे । **इह च** लोके **नन्दति** मोदते । धर्मोपादानात् त्रयीधर्मव्यवस्था नैकफला ॥

इति विद्यासमुद्देशे त्रयीस्थापना ।

तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥